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WASHINGTON, D. C., MONDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1912.

WHOLE NO. 5

## FIFTH CONFERENCE OF GOVERNORS, RICHMOND, VA., DECEMBER 3 TO 6.



Left to right, seated—Governors Tasker L. Oddie of Nevada, Adolph O. Eberhart of Minnesota, Robert S. Vessey of South Dakota, John A. Dix of New York, William Hodges Mann of Virginia, John K. Tener of Pennsylvania, Francis E. McGovern of Wisconsin, Eugene N. Foss of Massachusetts. Standing—Edwin L. Norris of Montana, W. W. Kitchen of North Carolina, Albert W. Gilchrist of Florida, Judson Harmon of Ohio, Joseph M. Carey of Wyoming, Cole L. Blease of South Carolina, Joseph M. Brown of Georgia, James H. Hawley of Idaho, William Spry of Utah, Frederick W. Plafie of Maine, ex-Governor J. F. Fort of New Jersey, Emmet O'Neal of Alabama, ex-Governor Augustus D. Wilson of Kentucky, John F. Shaforth of Colorado, Phillips L. Goldsborough of Maryland, Herbert S. Hadley of Missouri, and George W. Donaghey of Arkansas. (The gentleman next to Gov. Fort and the one back of Gov. Donaghey are unidentified.)

The fifth conference of Governors, held in Richmond, December 3 to 6, can be put down as a success in some directions and as a failure in others.

It was a success in that the Governors' conference became permanently organized, with a voting membership consisting of Governors and Governors-elect and a non-voting membership of retired Governors. It placed on record possibly for the first time in the history of the United States a roll call of the States, as represented by their Governors, on the subject of law and order. It also reached some definite action relative to the subject of rural credits, in that a committee of nine is to consider the form of law requisite to the

adaptation of rural credit systems to American life. In these three particulars the fifth conference showed marked advance over preceding conferences which have been peculiarly inconclusive.

The marked defects of the fifth conference were a lack of thoroughness in discussion, but not in papers, improper haste to get through the programme, and frequent disregard of orderly procedure. Two subjects were forced into each session and the four papers on the two subjects read right through without leaving any time for a discussion of each. The worst feature of all was that only one out of twenty-four newly elected Governors was present.

The movement for a Governors' conference has been called the

greatest new idea, added to the deliberative machinery of legislation in the United States, since the Constitution. The series of meetings of the Governors that began in Washington in May, 1908, was continued in Washington in 1909, in Kentucky in 1910, in New Jersey in 1911, and in Virginia in 1912, is potent for good, but its highest value will not be realized until the participants in these conferences realize the important part which they can play in hastening uniformity of law in national essentials.

With one or two exceptions, the Governors of the States do not yet appear to realize the importance of the Governors' conference and the part that it can play in public affairs. The emphasis laid upon

State's rights in the Democratic national platform of 1912 shows that the Governors' conference can be the greatest safeguard to State rights in that it can lead to essential social legislation of uniform character that lies clearly outside the powers of Congress, but that must be uniform throughout the nation in order to be beneficial. Forty or fifty subjects lie in this realm where uniformity must be secured.

The Constitution of the United States clearly defines the field for Federal legislation, and all powers not delegated to the government of the United States remain within the control of the individual States. Because there are forty-eight States, there have in many instances arisen disparities

and contradictions of law that are injurious to national welfare. Using the well-discussed subject of uniform legislation relative to marriage and divorce as an illustration, it is evident that uniformity cannot be produced by act of Congress. The way to produce uniformity is by the co-operative action of independent States. It has hitherto been impossible and it will doubtless ever remain impossible to bring together the legislators of the various States into one body to discuss and to decide upon subjects where uniformity is requisite and yet where uniformity has hitherto seemed practically unattainable. It is in this realm which has been defined as a "twilight zone" between Federal powers and State powers that the Governors' conference can come to fill not

merely a good place in the working out of legislative programmes, but may prove to be the only way to secure uniformity of thought quickly.

All of this and more was in the vision of William George Jordan, when in 1907 he began to agitate the formation of what he called the "House of Governors" which originated the present Governors' conference. He showed that there is a realm of State law, of United States law, and of United States law, and it is in the third division, United States law, that the usefulness of the Governors' conference comes most decidedly into sight.

The Governors, after permanent organization, selected as the secretary of the conference, M. C. Riley,

of the Legislative Reference Library in Madison, Wis. This was an important step because in the interval of meetings this official becomes the point of contact for each Governor with each Governor on matters of public interest. His duty will be to keep up a constant interchange of information between all the Governors. This is vital, for the members of the conference are in forty-eight different States as widely separated as it is possible for citizens to be. Their personnel is also subject to constant change. It would seem advisable that the conference should establish permanent headquarters, in order that its activities be made continuous throughout the year, making the body practically always in session.

### Modern Penology.

This subject was taken up by the Governors' conference at its first business session, December 3. It was altogether too broad for treatment in two papers. The discussions that followed were nationally discursive and led to statements by Gov. Blease of South Carolina on lynching, which diverted the attention of the conference not only in this session, but also invaded the discussion of marriage and divorce, on the afternoon of December 5, and completely disturbed the vital subject of rural credits, on December 6.

Gov. Shaforth of Colorado, in his paper on modern penology, pleaded for leniency wherever possible. He described the Colorado methods showed the importance of human sympathy for the prisoner and the good results that have accrued. He declared that severe punishment had proved no deterrent to crime. Certainty of punishment, in his opinion, with an opportunity to shorten the sentence through labor and good behavior, not only punished the criminal, but served as a deterrent against future crimes and as an incentive to reform. He advocated the system in vogue in Colorado, under which gangs of fifty men worked without guards, save at night, on the public roads, and expressed the hope that the time was near when the State could do more than this and pay the convict a nominal wage for the work he performed.

He was followed by Gov. Baldwin of Connecticut, who declared that he was more in sympathy with the classical school of penology than the new or noisier one, mainly made up of sentimental humanitarians or theoretical psychologists. Flogging, in some cases, for children; the whipping post for violators of certain laws, and were advocated by Gov. Baldwin.

Gov. Donaghey of Arkansas declared for a severe penalty for lynchings, and said no punishment, except death, would deter the murderer. "Where it has come to pass," he declared, "why a man is certain of punishment if he should steal a horse, but where nine times out of ten, he is able to go not free if he commits a murder."

Continued on Page Eleven.

### Marriage and Divorce.

The question of uniformity in marriage and divorce laws was ably discussed in two papers, one by Gov. Oddie of Nevada, who spoke from the viewpoint of Nevada relative to liberal divorce laws, and the other by Gov. Hawley of Idaho, who spoke in a more conservative strain. Gov. Oddie stated that in all likelihood a longer period of residence would be required in Nevada in the future than had been true in the past. He denied, however, that liberal divorce laws in Nevada were matters of recent development.

In the discussions that followed it became very evident that the Governors present all felt the necessity of uniformity since the absence of uniformity led to confusion and in some cases to serious wrong to the children of divorcees. Through various speeches ran the idea that if possible divorce laws should be available in a State to the citizens of that State only, so as to avoid the scandals of divorces arranged at places remote from the State where the cause of divorce lay. Gov. Hadley of Missouri stated in his opinion laws in other States besides Missouri can be used to prevent fraudulent divorce suits. He explained that in Kansas City, where divorces were for a time very frequent, and in some cases scandalous, proctors were appointed whose duty it was to investigate all the facts surrounding an expected divorce suit, and thus by the presentation of facts in court prevent the fraud. The effect was immediately valuable.

Gov. Blease of South Carolina pointed out that in his State no divorces were ever granted. The general feeling of the Governors, however, seemed to be that divorce was a necessary corrective of conditions that could be actually intolerable to the party—man or woman—who might be suffering wrong. Several Governors spoke against legislative divorces, that is, divorces granted by special acts of Legislatures.

### Resolution of the Governors' Conference, Called Forth by Statements of Gov. Blease of South Carolina

**Resolved, That it is the sentiment of the Governors' Conference, in session at Richmond, Va., December 6, 1912, that the whole power of the several States should be used, whenever necessary, to protect persons accused of crime, of any kind, against the violence of mobs; and to provide for speedy, orderly, and impartial trials by courts of competent jurisdiction, to the end that the laws for the protection of life and property may be duly enforced and respected by all the people.**

### Child Labor.

Kate Barnard, of the department of charities and corrections of Oklahoma, addressed the Governors at the close of the morning session of December 5. She made a most striking plea for children who labor. She emphasized the fact that this nation in the later development of the conflicts of commerce. Success will rest upon this nation only providing its children are given full chance for best development. She also pleaded for the mothers who have to labor in factories.

### Woman's Suffrage.

Miss Mary Johnston, the well-known authoress, and Mrs. Valentine, of Richmond, appeared before the Governors on the subject of Woman Suffrage. Both ladies made a strong presentation of the subject. The appeal was made on the grounds of humanity and not on the grounds of femininity; on the score of justice to one-half the population who now, with the exception of eight States, were still without voice in public affairs.

### Waterways.

A very elaborate argument relative to the development of inland waterways was made in the session of December 5 by Gov. Foss of Massachusetts. He said, in part: "The history of American waterways shows that State authority has failed and that the opportunities of effective Federal administration have been neglected. The result has been that the waterways of the United States have never been developed as a system upon any national scale, but have been improved principally through the efforts of Congressmen to get a share of the 'Rivers and Harbors' appropriations for their respective districts, and the efforts of those districts and of the States, independently of Federal aid, to help themselves. The secret of the success of the great commercial countries of Europe lies in their remarkable foresight, in the way in which they have prepared for expanding trade and commerce, and in the location of their great commercial centers. Practically all of the great seaports of Europe have been equipped with modern transportation facilities far in advance of their actual requirements."

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### State Income Tax.

The papers read on this subject by Gov. McGovern of Wisconsin and ex-Gov. Wilson of Kentucky were most exhaustive and suggestive; but neither was later discussed to advantage. In view of the relation of this subject to the approaching amendment of the Constitution of the United States, permitting the Federal government to exact an income tax, that portion of the paper by Gov. McGovern relating to the equalizing tendency of the income tax in Wisconsin is quoted elsewhere at some length.

For the same reason part of ex-Gov. Wilson's comments upon Kentucky and its relation to Federal rights of taxation are included elsewhere. His concluding remarks were as follows: "In conclusion, the Federal government has in the customs and internal revenue taxes the least felt, the easiest collected, and the fairest tax measures known in governmental practice. The only tax of like character left for State, county, and municipal governments is the income tax and they need it."

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### Drift to Cities.

Gov. Eberhart of Minnesota spoke at length of his experiences in checking the drift of population from farms to cities. He stated that the problem was financial, educational, and social—that many moved to the cities in order to secure more ready money; that large numbers moved to the cities for the educational advantages offered their children, and that many sought social advantages and diversions by coming into touch with the crowded populations of cities. His analysis of the situation showed him that monotony and lack of entertainment were more potent causes for deserting the country than were even financial causes. Therefore, in the work of his State great attention had been given to creating an institution in the country that should combine both city and country advantages. This institution had taken form as a consolidated school. The centralizing of schools and the opening of schools as social centers were exerting a marked influence.

Gov. Hadley of Missouri followed with a very careful statement relative to various lines of endeavor that had been made by the Catholic Church and by the State in Missouri. He gave it as his opinion that in newly settled territory it would be well to approach the European system of a farm village, thus preventing the depressing isolation which is common when farm houses are widely separated. He showed also that through the activities of Archbishop Gleason several villages had been established, made up of men of similar faith or nationality.

The closing statement was from Gov. Mann of Virginia touched very lightly upon the excellent plan which has been worked out in his State, by the United Agricultural Board. He was unfortunate that he did not more fully explain how wise a movement this has been in preventing duplication of agricultural effort by Federal, State, or educational authorities.

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### Rural Credits.

The discussion of this subject was very unsatisfactory, due to the fact that after the papers of Governor O'Neal of Alabama and Ambassador Herrick had been read the question of adopting a resolution in favor of law and order came up. Dr. Lillian Johnson, who was present to report on a trip to Rome and a visit to the International Institute of Agriculture and to David Lubin, was prevented from speaking.

This subject, however, is one so closely related to the stability of the agricultural population of America that we include in this issue of The Nation's Business much reference to it. Governor O'Neal presented an admirable paper, the opening and closing portions of which are here included. The resolution adopted by the Governors indorses a plan of financing rural credits, yet to be detailed, but similar to those abroad. It provides for the appointment of a committee of nine Governors to draft such a plan and a bill legalizing it. This bill must be submitted to the Governor of each State in the Union, and upon approval of two-thirds of the various States for enactment. The nine will be Governors O'Neal, Johnson of California, Plaisted, Foss, Hadley, Harmon, Mann, McGovern, and Carey.

Governor O'Neal of Alabama introduced his subject as follows: "It has long been recognized that the failure of our financial system to provide methods by which our farmers could procure money, at reasonable interest, for their legitimate requirements, constituted one of its most serious and grave defects. Yet while this defect has been admitted, it was not until recent years that any remedy for this condition was suggested. Owing to the absence of proper banking facilities for agricultural needs, the farmer has been compelled to apply to the loan brokers, merchants and private individuals for that capital which the legitimate conduct of his business required, and to pay not only heavy commissions, but, generally, exorbitant and usurious interest. The necessary result has been that agriculture, which constitutes the chief source of our national wealth, and the most

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## State Income Taxation As Applied in Wisconsin

Portions of Speech of Gov. Francis E. McGovern  
Before the Governors' Conference, Richmond, December 5.

"Amid the clashing of divergent interests and the endeavor of each social class to roll off the burden of taxation on some other class we discern the slow and laborious growth of the standards of justice in taxation, and the attempt on the part of the community as a whole to realize this justice. The history of finance, in other words, shows the evolution of the principle of equity or ability to pay—the principle that each individual should be held to help the State in proportion to his ability to help himself."

So wrote Prof. Seligman in introducing to the public his well-known treatise on income taxation. The statement is so satisfactory that I can think of nothing better with which to begin this paper. Consciously or unconsciously the public mind has long turned to this as the correct principle of all sound fiscal legislation. In harmony with this thought the poll or capitation tax was adopted in primitive communities. But when property began to accumulate the injustice of the poll tax as the sole source of public revenue became manifest. It was then superseded by the general property tax. This latter system worked very well so long as property consisted mostly of land only; but with the rise of personality, especially intangible personality, the multiplication of the professions and positions compensated by salaries and fees, the general property tax departed each year farther and farther from the requirements of justice, until, as the sole or even the principal source of public revenue, it was discarded everywhere except in the United States.

Taxation next fell upon expenditure. In the changed conditions of a more complex civilization this was thought a better criterion of ability to pay. As prosperity increased, however, the defects in this plan became obvious. It favored the rich while falling heavily upon the poor. So, as Prof. Seligman has pointed out, expenditure was abandoned as the sole test of faculty.

The succeeding stage in the development of a fiscal policy was the adoption of a tax on business in the form of product, or produce taxation. The "real taxes," so-called, of France and Germany, as opposed to the personal taxes, illustrate this phase. But it was soon found that in fact taxes are paid by persons, not by things, and that all taxes are ultimately paid out of income. Thus income—especially net income—was finally selected as the best test of one's ability to contribute to the support of government. It marks the final stage in the development of the philosophy of taxation. The great increase of wealth in modern times, the creation of gigantic individual fortunes, and total failure of all attempts fully to tax intangible personal property, contributed powerfully to re-enforce this tendency. Insistent and increasing demands, therefore, have everywhere been made for the establishment of system of income taxation.

With the general nature, objects, and underlying principles of this method of raising revenue you are all sufficiently familiar. I shall, therefore, confine what I have to say upon this subject to the recent legislation of my own State and the success that has attended its enforcement.

### Old System Breaks Down.

The reason an income tax was demanded by the people of Wisconsin was that the old system of personal property taxation had broken down. As to this there is no disagreement. Not in Wisconsin alone, but everywhere, the old method of trying to raise revenue by taxation of intangible personal property has completely failed. Instead of adequate revenue, it has brought about the result almost uniformly has been inequality, discrimination, evasion, and, so far as this source goes, increasing deficiency.

Speaking of the entire country Mr. Lawson, of Boston, has just said in a magazine article that \$50,000,000,000 out of the \$110,000,000,000 constituting the total wealth of the United States are represented by stocks and bonds alone. However, this may be, it is safe to say that in Wisconsin the value of personal property has been equalized. That of real estate, each should therefore bear the same amount of the public burden; but the fact is that last year personal property paid less than 18 per cent of the general property tax, while land contributed over 82 per cent. In many of the States the ratio is even more extreme. I am told that in some of the larger cities of the East, where vast quantities of intangible property are owned, the assessed valuation has fallen to less than 2 per cent of the taxable value of land. Thus men of great wealth through the ownership of this class of property escape practically all taxation. Meanwhile the workingman and small merchant are required to make up the deficiency by increased taxes upon their slender stock of goods and modest homes.

A careful investigation of 473 estates by the Wisconsin tax commission revealed taxable securities, such as stocks, bonds, &c., worth \$2,260,105, which had been assessed the year before at only \$74,095, or less than 3 1/2 per cent of their true value. The intangible personal property belonging to these estates, such as household furniture, pianos, wagons, carriages, &c., was worth only \$148,390, but was assessed at \$80,390, or 54 per cent of true value. Thus the securities, which were worth fifteen times the assessed value, had actually been assessed for less. An investigation recently conducted in the city of Milwaukee showed that 200 persons had \$12,000,000 invested in mortgages, stocks, and bonds in other States, and thus kept their entire net worth off the tax roll.

**Inequality and Injustice.**  
Failure such as this to assess all property subject to taxation inevitably produces inequality and injustice as between individuals. The same results are worked out also among the several municipalities of each county. The per capita assessment, for instance, of money and credits in the city of Milwaukee last year was \$29.38, and in the rich and prosperous town of Wauwatosa, immediately adjoining Milwaukee on the west, it was only 30 cents. In the village of Whitefish Bay in the same county it was \$11.07, and in the wealthier and more prosperous village of Kenosha it was \$11.07, and in the city of Kenosha it was \$105.95. In the prosperous town of Pleasant Prairie, close at hand, it was only 6 cents.

So also of the counties within the State. The assessed value of money and credits in Kenosha County last year was \$71.68 per capita, while in the neighboring county of Ozaukee, which is quite as prosperous, it was \$4.47. In Columbia County it was \$16.85, while in the neighboring and wealthier county of Dodge it was \$24.61. In Green County it was \$34.58, but only \$9.52 in the wealthier county of La Fayette, just adjoining, and but \$8.03 in Iowa County, immediately west of both. In Winnebago County it was \$15.26, and in Kewaunee, one of the prosperous Lake Shore counties of the State, but 98 cents. In Douglas County it was but a fifth of a cent,

000 were assessed, and in Douglas County, containing the second largest city in the State, only \$100 worth of money and credits were found.

These and other similar irregularities in assessment of property inevitably destroyed uniformity of taxation; but they did more. They introduced a vicious system of class legislation. A careful investigation of the assessments of 2,237 persons shows that if the assessments of the property of farmers be placed at 100 per cent, that of merchants would be only 63 per cent and that of manufacturers but 37 per cent. In other words upon the same amount of property farmers were assessed two and seven-tenths times as much as manufacturers.

### Revolution by Reform.

Observe in the first place that it was such facts as these that led Prof. Kinsman, who assisted in drafting our income tax law, to say: "The French nobility, prior to the revolution, were made exempt from taxation by law; the favored class in America have become exempt by operation of law." In France this condition resulted in a revolution; in America revolutions are averted by reform. The specific form of remedy adopted in Wisconsin for the evils here sketched was a graduated income tax with proper exemptions.

It is not an additional tax, but a substitute for the old broken down system of personal property taxation. Under the new law many classes of personal property, such as money, credits, stocks, bonds, mortgages, household goods, wearing apparel, mechanics' tools, and farm machinery are entirely exempt. Moreover, the tax upon all classes of personal property that are still assessable is allowed as an offset to the income tax. The practical effect of this provision has been well-nigh to abolish all personal property taxation. As soon as the results of income taxation justify it, undoubtedly the personal property tax will be completely wiped out and local governments will be forced to rely upon the income tax.

### Continued on Page Four.

## Facsimile of Joint Resolution Relative to Federal Income Tax

Sixty-first Congress of the United States of America;

At the First Session,

Began and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the fifteenth day of March, one thousand nine hundred and nine.

### JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution:

"ARTICLE XVI. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration."

J. G. CANNON

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

J. S. SHERMAN

Vice-President of the United States and

President of the Senate.

States which have notified the Secretary of State of their action on the proposed income tax amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

### RATIFICATIONS.

ALABAMA.....August 17, 1909.  
ARIZONA.....April 9, 1912.  
CALIFORNIA.....January 31, 1911.  
COLORADO.....February 21, 1911.  
GEORGIA.....August 3, 1910.  
IDAHO.....January 20, 1911.  
ILLINOIS.....February 6, 1911.  
INDIANA.....February 27, 1911.  
KANSAS.....February 27, 1911.  
KENTUCKY.....February 8, 1910.  
LOUISIANA.....July 3, 1912.  
MAINE.....January 31, 1911.  
MARYLAND.....April 8, 1910.  
MASSACHUSETTS.....February 23, 1911.  
MICHIGAN.....June 12, 1912.  
MINNESOTA.....March 11, 1910.  
MISSISSIPPI.....March 16, 1911.  
MONTANA.....January 31, 1911.  
NEBRASKA.....February 11, 1911.  
NEW HAMPSHIRE.....February 11, 1911.  
NEW JERSEY.....February 11, 1911.  
NEW YORK.....July 12, 1911.  
NORTH CAROLINA.....February 11, 1911.  
NORTH DAKOTA.....January 19, 1911.  
OHIO.....March 14, 1910.  
OKLAHOMA.....February 23, 1910.  
OREGON.....February 23, 1912.  
SOUTH CAROLINA.....February 23, 1910.  
SOUTH DAKOTA.....February 23, 1912.  
TEXAS.....August 17, 1909.  
VIRGINIA.....January 26, 1911.  
WASHINGTON.....January 26, 1911.  
WISCONSIN.....January 26, 1911.

### REJECTIONS.

CONNECTICUT.....May 27, 1911.  
NEW HAMPSHIRE.....March 2, 1911 (Senate).  
NEW JERSEY.....March 5, 1911 (House).  
UTAH.....March 5, 1911 (Senate).

### VOTES YET TO BE TAKEN.

DELAWARE.....January 1912.  
FLORIDA.....January 1912.  
MASSACHUSETTS.....January 1912.  
NEW JERSEY.....January 1912.  
NEW MEXICO.....January 1912.  
PENNSYLVANIA.....January 1912.  
RHODE ISLAND.....January 1912.  
VIRGINIA.....January 1912.  
WEST VIRGINIA.....January 1912.  
WYOMING.....January 1912.

Representative Cordell Hull of Tennessee, who is the authority on income tax legislation among the members of the Ways and Means Committee, and who wrote the draft of the excise bill that was passed by the House at the last session, will doubtless write the income tax law in consultation with Representative Oscar W. Underwood. Mr. Hull is now in Washington, studying this question, in which he has been interested for many years. Mr. Hull

## THE TAX FIGURES OF THE NATION.

From returns made directly to the "Wall Street Journal," not hitherto collected or tabulated, the actual burden laid upon the taxpayer from all sources, other than the protective tariff, can be estimated. The figures are due to the courtesy of the various State treasurers. Only four States failed to furnish them, and these are estimated from the census returns.

It is startling to see that in only ten years the expenditures in all the States have risen from \$189,000,000 to \$423,000,000. At a similar rate of increase, about 127 per cent, the county and municipal taxes, which in 1901 were \$917,000,000, had reached the enormous sum of \$2,082,000,000 in 1911, making a total for State and local purposes of \$2,505,000,000. Here are the returns by States:

State.	Fiscal Yr. Ending	1911-12	1901-02
Alabama.....	Sept. 30, 1911.	\$5,897,029	\$2,882,290
Arizona.....	June 30, 1912.	1,192,350	164,486
Arkansas.....	June 30, 1912.	10,773,450	1,456,417
California.....	June 30, 1912.	21,446,957	7,688,575
Colorado.....	June 30, 1911.	2,789,500	1,424,073
Connecticut.....	Sept. 30, 1911.	3,229,000	2,232,000
Delaware.....	Jan. 1, 1912.	691,880	415,187
Florida.....	Dec. 31, 1911.	1,268,206	1,791,596
Georgia.....	Sept. 30, 1911.	2,716,443	2,716,443
Idaho.....	Sept. 30, 1910.	3,314,955	456,773
Illinois.....	Sept. 30, 1910.	12,547,183	6,288,844
Indiana.....	Sept. 30, 1911.	11,817,442	6,492,389
Iowa.....	June 30, 1910.	19,032,470	3,026,494
Kansas.....	June 30, 1910.	1,236,016	2,748,544
Kentucky.....	June 30, 1911.	7,412,321	4,816,592
Louisiana.....	Dec. 31, 1911.	7,182,305	2,665,975
Maine.....	Dec. 31, 1911.	5,026,677	2,390,953
Maryland.....	Sept. 30, 1911.	2,851,871	2,851,871
Massachusetts.....	Nov. 30, 1911.	29,805,623	13,391,384
Michigan.....	June 30, 1911.	14,832,738	6,746,680
Minnesota.....	July 31, 1911.	10,732,950	6,292,022
Mississippi.....	Sept. 30, 1911.	4,335,322	1,972,852
Missouri.....	Nov. 30, 1910.	12,225,925	5,239,882
Montana.....	Nov. 30, 1910.	1,167,489	1,167,489
Nebraska.....	Nov. 30, 1910.	11,346,357	2,026,621
Nevada.....	Dec. 31, 1911.	3,897,750	748,456
New Hampshire.....	Aug. 31, 1911.	2,707,535	748,456
New Jersey.....	Oct. 31, 1911.	12,660,065	5,749,680
New Mexico.....	Sept. 30, 1910.	2,026,445	5,834,73
New York.....	Oct. 31, 1911.	3,811,225	1,709,651
North Carolina.....	Nov. 30, 1911.	9,117,672	2,917,672
Ohio.....	Nov. 15, 1911.	16,709,460	9,378,750
Oklahoma.....	June 30, 1912.	2,654,000	741,842
Oregon.....	June 30, 1910.	11,252,540	1,222,567
Pennsylvania.....	Nov. 30, 1911.	22,116,978	10,597,486
Rhode Island.....	Dec. 31, 1911.	2,660,220	1,009,667
South Carolina.....	Dec. 31, 1911.	2,532,424	1,009,667
South Dakota.....	June 30, 1911.	4,222,782	1,273,328
Tennessee.....	Dec. 31, 1908.	11,322,900	2,622,386
Texas.....	Aug. 31, 1911.	7,737,738	1,009,667
Utah.....	Aug. 31, 1911.	2,247,557	1,009,667
Vermont.....	June 30, 1912.	2,869,896	1,186,284
Virginia.....	June 30, 1911.	2,869,896	1,186,284
Washington.....	Sept. 30, 1910.	8,757,748	2,399,982
West Virginia.....	Sept. 30, 1911.	6,226,809	783,048
Wisconsin.....	June 30, 1910.	12,225,925	5,239,882
Wyoming.....	Sept. 30, 1910.	2,457,617	414,889

Estimated. "One" year. Returns from Tennessee are both anticipated and dubious. "Two" years.

### Municipal Costs Omitted.

If, to this gigantic total, which is merely the State, and not the municipal taxation, is added the annual appropriations of the Federal government, which now exceed \$1,100,000,000, the cost of our government for a single year is \$3,605,000,000, or nearly \$200 per family of five persons, with every tendency to increase. In 1911 the population of our forty-eight States was 93,792,509 persons. The tax burden, therefore, is no less than \$38.50 per capita, establishing a record in public expenditure which no other nation on the globe approaches, or presumably is anxious to emulate.

Canada's Official Year Book records that during the past three years nearly 400,000 persons, mostly farmers and their families, have quitted the United States to settle there. Some may have sold their lands in the States; others must have abandoned them in silence, with the sacred associations that surrounded them; and all must have felt that nothing but dire necessity had urged them to such a step.

This sinister movement has been attributed to the desire for cheap lands in Canada. But, as there can be no advantage in abandoning improved lands for unbroken ones, relinquishing what you already own for what has to be purchased, there must be another and deeper reason. This is surely in the ominous pressure of a tax system that levies over \$200 a year upon the families of the fleeing emigrants.

the citizen to contribute annually a fair proportion of his net gains to the maintenance of the government.

### Cannot Injure Business.

"The rates of the income tax can easily be raised or lowered within a week's time, helping rather than hurting business, by reason of its stability. With this tax in operation we cannot again behold the shameful scene of the tariff law—Congress struggling for five months to revise the tariff; lobbyists swarming like locusts through the corridors of the Capitol, demanding their respective shares of protection's plunder; business at a standstill; and suspense, awaiting the outcome, offering a loss, it is said, of \$10,000,000 a day.

"Nor would the operation of this tax influence prices when its rates are changed, or at any other time, because it does not rest on consumption, but upon the income of wealth."

### STATE INCOME TAX.

Continued from Page One.

"Our experience, with every Congress of all parties, is that they will always collect and spend all they can and dare, and as the last House of Representatives voted appropriations in excess of \$1,000,000,000, it is reasonable to expect that the next House will make still greater appropriations, and can raise new revenues from incomes, and will collect just as much from customs as usual, simply changing the basis in some cases from the protective plan, and the same internal revenues and the income tax besides.

"The income tax is the last and only revenue-producing device which is left for home governments, and it is the last revenue-producing States' right left to the States, and as there is no hope of the Federal government surrendering any customs or internal revenues to the States, but on the contrary, the Federal internal revenue licenses on distillers, liquor dealers, and tobacco usurp a vital part of immense revenues peculiarly due to the State which bears all of the harm and expense arising from their business, it is vitally important for the States to have the tax."

"If the United States invades the States' income tax field, it will go far to defeat all hope of remodeling the general property tax system and the general property tax. The income tax takes a percentage on incomes—the personal property tax, paid literally, takes the whole or more of the income. The personal property tax and Federal income tax together would take all the income of all investments, except in lands for farming, and that would tend to set everybody to farming while the destruction of investments would leave neither capitalists nor employers to buy the farm products.

"This tax more nearly than any other approaches the perfection of fiscal wisdom. None denies that it is absolutely sound in theory. Wise, simple, and effective, it would meet and cope with all the developments of our industrial affairs. The underlying basis of all systems of taxation is that each man should pay taxes in proportion to his means, real and personal. The income tax would oblige

## The Federal Income Tax versus State Income Tax

Portions of Speech of ex-Gov. Willson of Kentucky  
Before the Governors' Conference, Richmond, December 5.

Gov. McGovern has presented so clearly and in such an interesting way the Wisconsin State income tax, that it seems to me that I can be most useful in taking up the bearing of the proposed Federal income tax on the State income tax.

As all taxes must be paid out of incomes, that tax, like the tithe of the Scriptures, is not only the best and fairest of all taxes, but the one which, if collected for home use in the reality where other contributors live and know something of each other's circumstances and any man's evasion of it puts a part of his burden on his neighbors, it will, in the long run, be the most just, the most reasonable, and the least evaded form of revenue collection, while the collection for the Federal government, far from each neighborhood, will result in evasions and opposition to the tax and to the government. I judge that a State income tax, enforced and fairly understood, will be paid better and less oppressively than any State tax under the old system.

What I have to say on the bearing of the Federal income tax under the sixteenth amendment, yet to be ratified, is not a subject important to all, but it is a subject important to the Governors whose States have not yet acted on it, but it is on a subject important to all.

The dispatches show that prominent Congressmen are already preparing bills to raise \$100,000,000 a year of Federal income taxes in anticipation of the ratification of the sixteenth amendment. If that amendment goes into effect, our country will be almost academic, for no party could hold power in any State if it should uphold a State income tax on top of a Federal income tax of a hundred millions of dollars or more a year. Income taxes are bitterly opposed as inequitable and if used to collect in Wisconsin five or six millions of dollars for the United States, the State would be an explosion and an upheaval in Wisconsin, and so in every State.

### Kentucky's Burden.

In Kentucky, the State revenues are about seven millions, the annual expenses over eight million, because it bears on the State the burden of the Federal Government and internal revenue collections some millions more than the State's total revenues. On the \$100,000,000 basis Kentucky will pay from two to three millions of Federal income tax besides some millions of customs and internal revenue, under the ratification brought about by a political party caucus resolution and voted on in the Legislature, practically by acclamation, without consideration or discussion of the most important change in our government since the Constitution was adopted. The Legislature would not have been willing to do much less have dared to levy a State income tax of two to three millions of dollars to pay the deficit for which interest bearing State scrip, sold at a discount, and in payment, has been issued and is outstanding, of over two millions, one hundred thousand dollars, but it made a "joy ride" of giving the Federal government power to levy it, and it away to Washington, while the State income tax would be spent in the State and pay its debts and uphold its honor and credit. This is one of the strangest fruits of party politics and caucus government, that the Commonwealth of Kentucky, historically noted for its devotion to the Constitution of the United States, the ratification of the proposed Federal income tax amendment of the Constitution, should have been so easily misled by a political party caucus resolution and voted on in the Legislature, practically by acclamation, without consideration or discussion of the most important change in our government since the Constitution was adopted.

The Governor's Message.  
In preparing to send the amendment to the Legislature, I wrote a message, but because of the precipitate action did not send it in, which I prefer to use as a guide. The amendment, however, is a question here and was part of the work of the time and written for that purpose and not for this argument, on the State need of the income tax and opposing the Federal invasion of this great field of revenue. I quote for the paper:

"My own first impression was favorable to this measure to strengthen the basis of the general government in case of war or other emergency, but, as the amendment, as actually drawn, would enable Congress to lay any tax it pleased on incomes, from salaries of State officials and from State, county, and municipal bonds issued for governmental purposes, it seemed to me that this might make it impossible for any State to raise money to borrow money necessary for government rates and would at least add to the interest which the State would have to pay, some part of which income tax would be paid by the State out of the power to tax incomes when necessary for State purposes. It seemed to me that the serious encroachment on the right of the great majority of organization of our government, and I delayed the transmission of the resolution in order to present it to the General Assembly, and the matter was taken up without waiting for it to come through the channel which is proper, if not necessary, to give the General Assembly jurisdiction to consider it.

"It is not the province of the Governor, and I do not wish in any way to hinder or delay the action of the General Assembly, but I believe that the amendment in the shape in which it was transmitted to me, and as it is now, it might be treated as void, and I think it my duty to point this out to the General Assembly, so that the action will not be left in doubt."

"Let me say, to show my point of view, that, until as Governor I came to represent the interests of the State government, I was a member of the Kentucky House of Representatives, and I thought of Hamilton and the policies of the Republican party, largely suggested by the conditions developed in the war for the Union, and the frequent inefficiency of the State government, and I was inclined to favor a strong centralized government. But when my work as Governor led to my making the State my chief concern, I saw clearly the vital importance of home rule in the States and the need of holding fast to the wise check of our dual system on the Federal government."

### Questionable Ratification.

In view of the probable early ratification of the amendment, I think it will not tax your patience to give me my understanding of the status of the amendment in Kentucky. As Governor, I received the official letter of the Secretary of State, transmitting the amendment to the Kentucky General Assembly, before the session of the General Assembly. I need not take time now to refer to the records, but it will do to state my chief concern, I saw clearly the vital importance of home rule in the States and the need of holding fast to the wise check of our dual system on the Federal government."

"The Attorney General now holds that the corporation income tax includes income from government bonds, and that it is not an income from whatever source derived."

"The paper then covered many legal opinions and ended as quoted under 'State Income Tax' on page 1 of this issue."











THIS MAP IS FOR USE ONLY IN UNIT No. 1071

Numbered squares represent units of area. Red lines indicate boundaries of zones. The unit of area in which each post office is located is shown in the Parcel Post Guide. All units of area intersected by the circle forming the outer boundary of any zone shall be considered as being entirely within such zone.

RATES OF POSTAGE

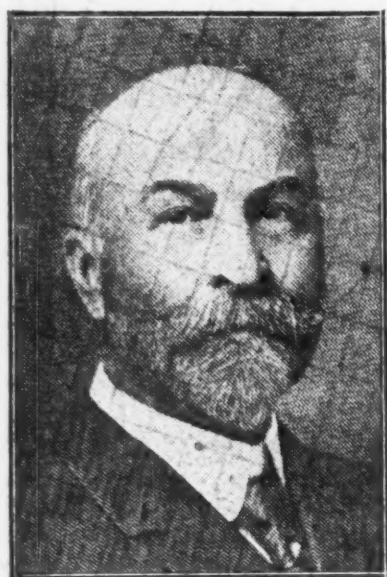
Parcels weighing four ounces or less are payable at the rate of one cent for each ounce or fraction of an ounce, regardless of distance. Parcels weighing more than four ounces are payable at the pound rate, as shown by the following table, and when marked at this rate any fraction of a pound is considered a full pound.

Weight	1st zone		2d zone								3d zone								4th zone								5th zone								6th zone								7th zone								8th zone							
	Local rate	Zone rate	1st zone rate	2d zone rate	3d zone rate	4th zone rate	5th zone rate	6th zone rate	7th zone rate	8th zone rate	1st zone rate	2d zone rate	3d zone rate	4th zone rate	5th zone rate	6th zone rate	7th zone rate	8th zone rate	1st zone rate	2d zone rate	3d zone rate	4th zone rate	5th zone rate	6th zone rate	7th zone rate	8th zone rate	1st zone rate	2d zone rate	3d zone rate	4th zone rate	5th zone rate	6th zone rate	7th zone rate	8th zone rate																								
1 pound	\$0.05	\$0.05	\$0.06	\$0.07	\$0.08	\$0.09	\$0.10	\$0.11	\$0.12	\$0.13	\$0.14	\$0.15	\$0.16	\$0.17	\$0.18	\$0.19	\$0.20	\$0.21	\$0.22	\$0.23	\$0.24	\$0.25	\$0.26	\$0.27	\$0.28	\$0.29	\$0.30	\$0.31	\$0.32	\$0.33	\$0.34	\$0.35	\$0.36	\$0.37	\$0.38																							
2 pounds	.06	.08	.10	.12	.14	.16	.18	.20	.22	.24	.26	.28	.30	.32	.34	.36	.38	.40	.42	.44	.46	.48	.50	.52	.54	.56	.58	.60	.62	.64	.66	.68	.70	.72																								
3 pounds	.07	.11	.14	.17	.20	.23	.26	.29	.32	.35	.38	.41	.44	.47	.50	.53	.56	.59	.62	.65	.68	.71	.74	.77	.80	.83	.86	.89	.92	.95	.98	1.01	1.04																									
4 pounds	.08	.14	.18	.22	.26	.30	.34	.38	.42	.46	.50	.54	.58	.62	.66	.70	.74	.78	.82	.86	.90	.94	.98	1.02	1.06	1.10	1.14	1.18	1.22	1.26	1.30	1.34	1.38																									
5 pounds	.09	.17	.22	.27	.32	.37	.42	.47	.52	.57	.62	.67	.72	.77	.82	.87	.92	.97	1.02	1.07	1.12	1.17	1.22	1.27	1.32	1.37	1.42	1.47	1.52	1.57	1.62	1.67	1.72																									
6 pounds	.10	.20	.26	.32	.38	.44	.50	.56	.62	.68	.74	.80	.86	.92	.98	1.04	1.10	1.16	1.22	1.28	1.34	1.40	1.46	1.52	1.58	1.64	1.70	1.76	1.82	1.88	1.94	2.00	2.06																									
7 pounds	.11	.23	.30	.37	.44	.51	.58	.65	.72	.79	.86	.93	1.00	1.07	1.14	1.21	1.28	1.35	1.42	1.49	1.56	1.63	1.70	1.77	1.84	1.91	1.98	2.05	2.12	2.19	2.26	2.33	2.40																									
8 pounds	.12	.26	.34	.42	.50	.58	.66	.74	.82	.90	.98	1.06	1.14	1.22	1.30	1.38	1.46	1.54	1.62	1.70	1.78	1.86	1.94	2.02	2.10	2.18	2.26	2.34	2.42	2.50	2.58	2.66	2.74																									
9 pounds	.13	.29	.38	.47	.56	.65	.74	.83	.92	1.01	1.10	1.19	1.28	1.37	1.46	1.55	1.64	1.73	1.82	1.91	2.00	2.09	2.18	2.27	2.36	2.45	2.54	2.63	2.72	2.81	2.90	2.99	3.08																									
10 pounds	.14	.32	.42	.52	.62	.72	.82	.92	1.02	1.12	1.22	1.32	1.42	1.52	1.62	1.72	1.82	1.92	2.02	2.12	2.22	2.32	2.42	2.52	2.62	2.72	2.82	2.92	3.02	3.12	3.22	3.32	3.42																									
11 pounds	.15	.35	.46	.57	.68	.79	.90	1.01	1.12	1.23	1.34	1.45	1.56	1.67	1.78	1.89	1.99	2.10	2.21	2.32	2.43	2.54	2.65	2.76	2.87	2.98	3.09	3.																														

Country	United States domestic-orders paid		Foreign domestic orders paid		Exports paid in United States	Exports paid in United States
	Value	%	Value	%		
Antigua	2,130	\$39,251.61	30	\$2,818.67	\$17,417.97	
Bahamas	503	9,439.43	1,642	16,095.17		\$8,654.79
Barbados	39,719	3,380.29	2,589	25,542.83	236,546.89	\$1,028,725.72
Bermuda	1,066	18,000.41	2,064	28,728.47		11,037.98
British Guiana	2,344	23,670.22	3,358	15,341.76		8,700.46
British Honduras	129	4,298.12	1,469	10,026.85		
Canada	68,700	6,549,099.07	1,339,254	11,290,155.95		4,871,213.86
Canal Zone	3,403	85,048.98	18,767	3,791,974.20		3,706,925.22
Cuba	27,364	417,796.95	174,863	929,571.20		\$61,468.26
Dominican	265	1,420.27	1,029	1,420.27		
Grenada	2,546	31,835.82	650	7,974.43		26,861.39
Jamaica	27,698	94,371.17	3,722	10,673.39		39,302.68
Leeward	160,000	3,360,584.16	1,528	1,528,685.16		137,220.00
Montserrat	853	11,256.00	98	2,371.60		8,924.47
Neris	622	12,680.69	73	1,025.45		16,188.22
Norfolk	1,023	12,680.69	1,270	7,886.79		62,854.97
Papua New Guinea	9,008	23,623.27	71,004	1,790,193.23		1,595,491.94
St. Kitts	1,004	17,915.17	112	1,100.53		16,811.04
St. Lucia	169	1,833.31	27	4,326.36		
St. Vincent	2,192	26,877.39	328	2,012.47		20,864.65
Trinidad	3,710	43,128.49	3,443	28,600.94		48,000.00
Virgin Islands			158	7,291.43		\$,985.85
					\$9,989.34	\$1,024,772.52



## SEVERAL OF THE TWO HUNDRED COUNCILLORS WHO WILL PARTICIPATE



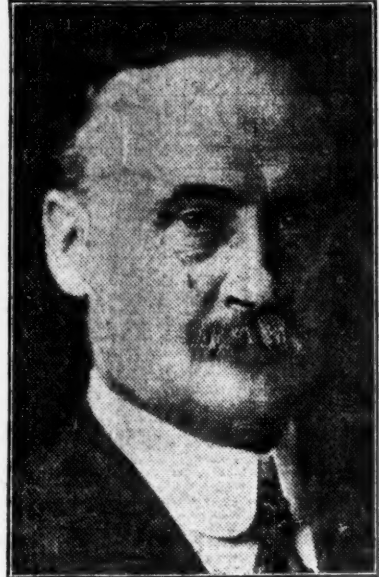
CHARLES H. JONES,  
Councillor  
Representing the National Boot and  
Shoe Manufacturers' Association.



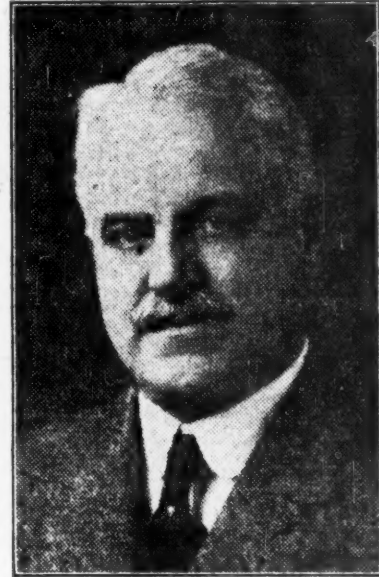
GEORGE L. MCCARTHY,  
Councillor  
Representing the American Meat  
Packers' Association.



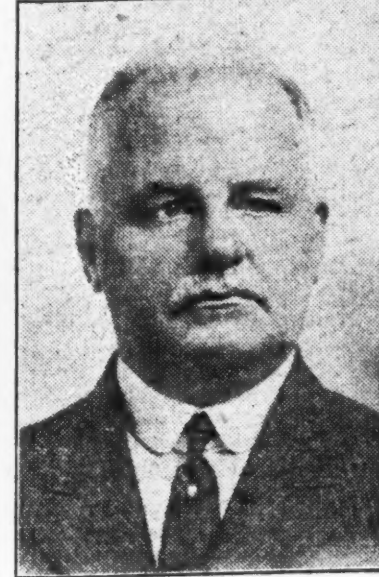
ERNEST T. TRIGG,  
Councillor  
Representing the Paint Manufactur-  
ers' Association.



LEVI L. HUE,  
Councillor  
Representing the American Bank-  
ers' Association.



THOMAS EDWARD WILDER,  
Councillor  
Representing the National Associa-  
tion of Tanners.



A. J. WALTER,  
Councillor  
Representing the National Confectioners' Association.



FRED A. DIGGINS,  
Councillor  
Representing the National Hard-  
wood Lumber Association.



HORTON CORWIN, JR.,  
Councillor  
Representing the North Carolina  
Pine Association.



LOUIS HERZOG,  
Councillor  
Representing the Chicago Garment  
Manufacturers' Association.



LUCIUS E. WILSON,  
Councillor  
Representing the Board of Com-  
merce of Detroit, Mich.



WALTER J. WICHGAR,  
Councillor  
Representing the Business Men's  
Club of Cincinnati.

## THE PROPHECY . . February 16, 1783

"There is another body of men among us whose business of life, and whose full and extensive intelligence, foreign and domestic, naturally make them more perfectly acquainted with the sources of our wealth, and whose particular interests are more intimately and necessarily connected with the general prosperity of the country than any other order of men in the States. I mean the merchants; and I could wish that Congress might have the benefit of that extensive and important information which this body of men are very capable of laying before them.

"I therefore humbly propose, if the merchants in the several States are disposed to send delegates from their body to meet and attend the sitting of Congress, that THEY SHALL BE PERMITTED TO FORM A CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, and their advice to Congress be demanded and admitted concerning all bills before Congress as far as the same may affect the trade of the States."

(Pelatiah Webster in his dissertation on the Constitution of the Thirteen United States of North America).

## THE FULFILLMENT . April 23, 1912

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America was organized at the National Commercial Conference called by the President of the United States through Secretary Nagel and held in the city of Washington, D. C., April 22-23, 1912.

It is to be a clearing house for business opinion, business methods, and such efforts of organized commercial bodies as have suggestive importance in relation to the work of other organizations.

It will furnish to the public, and to the government at Washington that correlation which has hitherto been lacking in the activities of the government. It will be a correlating force, thus enabling all the people to learn through an official organization just exactly what is available in the way of knowledge from a government that is very highly ramified and scientifically specialized.

It is to secure by means of referendum vote an intimate knowledge of the business sentiment of the United States on all important subjects affected by national legislation. In the matter of intimate touch between the Congress of the United States and the business interests of the United States, it is self-evident that Representatives and Senators, together with the legislation that they put forth, suffer by reason of a lack of intimate knowledge of the business sentiment of the United States. There are, indeed, many hearings on many subjects, but only a few come to these hearings, and in no case has there been a public hearing in the city of Washington where the business interests of the whole nation were adequately represented and able to make the voice of their desire known. Yet, day by day, questions of business are constantly coming up in connection with which the President, the departments and Congress would be glad to know the actual impressive wish of the people relative to some subject of national policy. Consequently, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America will serve as a means of bringing together business opinions on many business subjects as affected by national legislation. It will carry on a referendum system month after month, and year after year in order to be able to supply to the Congress, to the government, and to each incumbent President exactly what is the business judgment of the United States on some subject affecting business or development.

## THE DESIRE . . . June 4, 1912

Following the advice of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor in his address at the National Commercial conference, the board of directors was ordered to take steps to secure a Federal charter. A bill was, therefore, prepared and introduced in the House of Representatives on June 4 and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, which committee promptly reported the bill back to the House "with the recommendation that the bill do pass," with these significant comments.

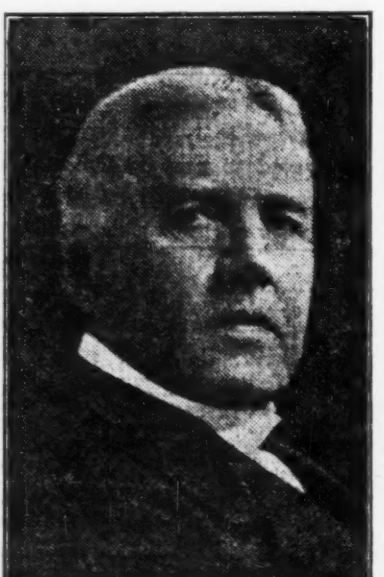
"As the purpose of the corporation proposed in this bill is to encourage trade and commercial intercourse among the States, the District of Columbia, the Territories, and insular possessions of the United States and with foreign nations—in other words, as its purpose is to encourage, stimulate, facilitate, and extend our commercial relations, there can be no question as to the right and the power of Congress to grant the proposed charter."

"While we have many commercial bodies in the country, known as chambers of commerce and commercial clubs of one sort or another, they are all purely local in their character intended only to benefit the particular communities in which they are located, we have no organization of a national or quasi national character, such as it is proposed in this bill to organize. The proposed organization would be Federal in its character, its constituent elements being various commerce bodies throughout the country, so that if the purpose be fully realized, it will be thoroughly national and cosmopolitan."

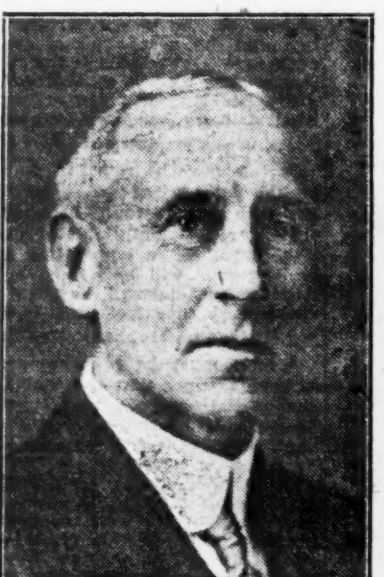
"Its possible usefulness is practically unlimited, both as to our domestic and foreign commercial relations."

"In the collection, publication and distribution of the latest commercial statistics alone it can do incalculable good."

"It can and ought to greatly increase the commercial standing and importance of the United States among foreign nations by materially extending our foreign trade and by creating a higher standard of business ethics."



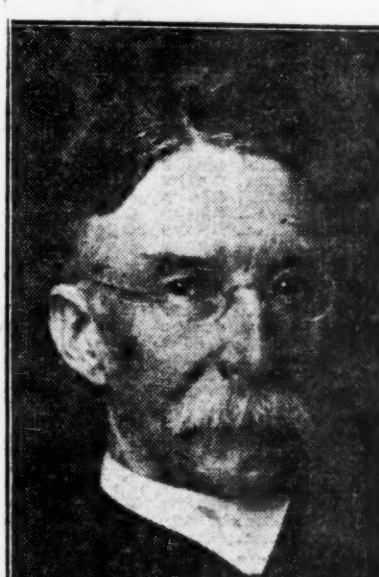
COL. CHARLES L. JEWETT,  
Councillor  
Representing the Chamber of Com-  
merce, New Albany, Ind.



WILLIAM H. STUART,  
Councillor  
Representing the Springfield Board  
of Trade.



HUGH JACKSON ROWE,  
Councillor  
Representing the Chamber of Com-  
merce of Athens, Ga.



S. E. VINCENT,  
Councillor  
Representing the Bridgeport Board  
of Trade.



M. J. HOWARD WIGHT,  
Councillor  
Representing the Board of Trade of  
Berlin, N. H.



ARTHUR H. SARVIS,  
Councillor  
Representing the Board of Com-  
merce of Flint, Mich.

First Annual Meeting of  
The Chamber of Commerce of the United States  
of America  
January 21-23, 1913.

Intense interest has already been aroused in the first annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. More than 200 constituent members have selected 700 delegates, majority of whom are expected to be present as the questions of advising and approving the work of the officers selected for the first year will be taken up and discussed.

In addition many subjects of personal interest to the business forces of America will be considered. The business men of the nation who may be present in Washington, though their organization may not be affiliated with the Chamber of Commerce of the United States will be welcomed at all general sessions. Sessions will be held in the New Willard Hotel. It is hoped that as many delegates as possible will be accompanied by ladies.

## TUESDAY, JANUARY 21, 10:30 A. M.

Secretary Nagel, of the Department of Commerce and Labor, will welcome the convention. Peculiar interest will attach to his words; for it was his speech of April 22 that served fully to convince the delegates of the National Council conference that time had come for a united, forward move by the business forces of America. After a response by President Harry A. W. and brief speeches by prominent Congressmen, in sympathy with the purposes of the Chamber of Commerce, committees will be appointed.

## TUESDAY, JANUARY 21, 2:30 P. M.

The committee on credentials will make its report and the sessions thus become fully organized. The board of directors and treasurer will go over in detail the work accomplished since 1912. All discussions relative to by-laws will be taken up in session subsequent to the report of the committee on by-laws.

## TUESDAY, JANUARY 21, 8 P. M.

A reception is being considered. Later announcement will be made.

## WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, 10 A. M.

Three speeches will be delivered during this session, dealing with banking and currency reform, the consular service, and the relation of business to civil service reform. Under the by-law provision can be taken at this meeting on subjects duly presented by individual members, the national council or the board of directors.

Among the subjects so to be considered will be a permanent tariff commission; bills introduced by Congressman Sulzer, for the improvement of the consular service and the housing of our diplomatic representatives abroad; the Pommeroy bill, and other legislation affecting bills of lading now pending in Congress; the recognition of the Chinese Republic; the Page bill. Subjects may also be presented by committee if ready for a vote, such as the appropriations for government bureaus engaged in the promotion of commercial interests.

## WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, AFTERNOON.

No sessions will be held, so that all delegates having business with the departments or with Congress may have ample time for discussion. Delegations will visit the departments of State, Commerce, Labor, and Agriculture. Certain bureaus, peculiarly related to business will be visited, such as Standards, the Census Bureau, Fisheries.

## WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, 8 P. M.

First annual banquet. President Taft will be present and participate.

## THURSDAY, JANUARY 23, 10 A. M.

The committee on resolutions will report and discussion will follow. During this session also, further consideration will be given to special subjects, unfinished in the session of Wednesday morning.

## THURSDAY, JANUARY 23, 3 P. M.

Election of board of directors. There will be further consideration of special subjects before adjournment. Subsequent to the adjournment the new board of directors will organize and plan their work.



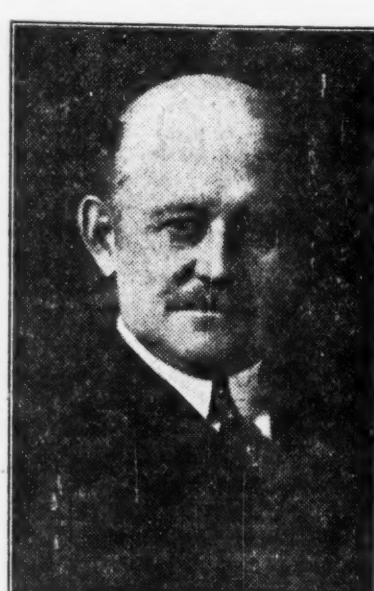
# PARTICIPATE IN THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CHAMBER



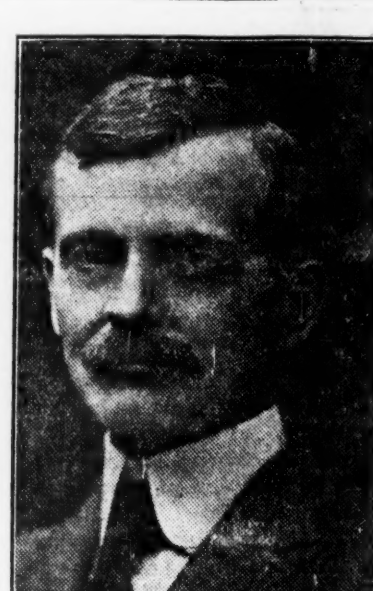
RIVAL D. OVIATT,  
Councillor  
Representing the National Association  
Employing Lithographers.



D. H. BETHARD,  
Councillor  
Representing the Illinois Commer-  
cial Federation.



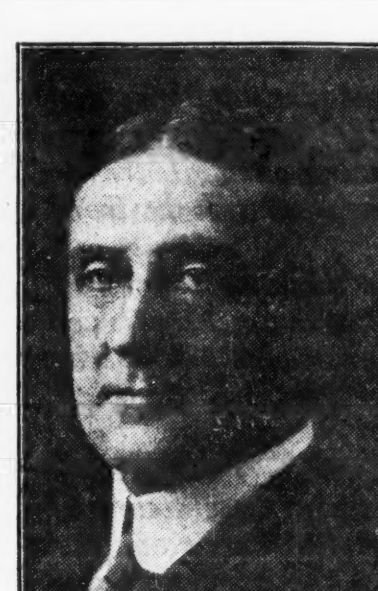
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Councillor  
Representing the American Ware-  
housemen's Association.



WILLIAM CAREY COFFIN,  
Councillor  
Representing the Bridge Builders'  
Society.



CHARLES PIEZ,  
Councillor  
Representing the Illinois Manufac-  
turers' Association.



ARTHUR C. HASTINGS,  
Councillor  
Representing the American Paper  
and Pulp Association.



JOHN DONNAN,  
Councillor  
Representing the Southern Hard-  
ware Jobbers' Association.

## EXTRACTS

From the Tenth Annual Report

of

### SECRETARY NAGEL

Department of Commerce and Labor

organization of the Cham-  
ber of Commerce of the United  
States is a most significant step  
in the history of the United  
States, and the industrial world  
which is absolutely  
intelligent and ef-  
fective as

RIFF INVESTIGATIONS  
The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic  
Affairs has been given authority  
to make a study of the industrial  
conditions in the United States, in  
order to determine the effect of  
the various laws and regulations  
which govern the business of the  
United States.

## Meetings of National Councillors

January 20, the day  
of the opening of the  
meeting of the Cham-  
ber of Commerce of the  
United States of America,  
the national councillors  
representing the constituent  
members of the Cham-  
ber of Commerce of the  
United States of America,  
will meet in the Con-  
tinent Hotel, Washington, D.  
C., at 2 p. m., for the pur-  
pose of passing on the pro-  
ceedings of the annual meet-  
ing of the Chamber of Commerce  
of the United States of America.

business will be submitted  
for discussion.  
Immediately upon adjourn-  
ment of this meeting, the na-  
tional councillors representing  
the constituent associations will meet  
for the purpose of  
selecting a nominating com-  
mittee composed of one mem-  
ber from each State; simul-  
taneously, the national coun-  
cillors representing national  
organizations shall meet  
to select ten addi-  
tional members of the nomi-  
nating committee.

year, or by the piece; and hours em-  
ployed per day; and the profits of man-  
ufacturers and producers of such ar-  
ticles; and the comparative cost of liv-  
ing, and the kind of living; what articles  
are controlled by trusts or other com-  
binations of capital, business operations,  
or labor, and what effect said trusts, or  
other combinations of capital, business  
operations, or labor have on production  
and prices." With proper appropriations  
the bureau is thus in a position to pur-  
sue investigations in relation to tariff  
and similar questions affecting commerce.

**Trade Commission Idea.**  
During the past year there has been  
much discussion of proposed legislation  
for the establishment of a trade com-  
mission, which should succeed to, and  
considerably amplify the powers of, the  
present Bureau of Corporations. Several  
bills were introduced in Congress, but  
thus far this discussion has been  
productive of little net result; except to  
demonstrate the need of still further  
consideration of the subject.

Before such a body is established it  
is essential that some fundamental con-  
siderations be carefully weighed and set-  
tled. The powers of the present Bu-  
reau of Corporations are powers of in-  
quiry and publicity, and in the exercise  
of these rather wide discretion is desir-  
able, and, indeed, almost unavoidable.  
In dealing with powers of regulation,  
however, there must of necessity be a  
definition of these powers in the statute,  
and that definition presents a problem  
of vital importance. Perhaps the most  
serious danger involved in such a trade  
commission is the natural tendency to  
extend its authority.

**Fixing Commodity Prices.**  
Even now some of the plans proposed  
contemplate extremely radical departures,  
as, for instance, the direct fixing of  
prices of commodities. Without further  
experience and without appreciation  
of the fundamental distinction be-  
tween a public carrier and a private in-  
dustry, it is proposed to clothe such a  
trade commission with substantially the  
same power which the Interstate Com-  
merce Commission now exercises over  
railroad rates. Such fixing of prices is,  
of course, by no means a necessary ac-  
companiment of a trade commission,  
and, in fact, the most carefully matured  
plans have not embraced this sugges-  
tion. Nevertheless, the fact that such  
propositions are seriously put forth dem-  
onstrates the necessity for extreme cau-  
tion in framing legislation for the estab-  
lishment of such a commission. Before  
reaching final conclusions, experience in  
this direction, especially that of various  
State commissions dealing with control  
of corporations, might well be investi-  
gated, either by a special commission  
or possibly by the Bureau of Corpora-  
tions.

Next to the definition of the general  
powers of such a commission, the most  
important question involved is how far  
administrative discretion shall be con-  
ferred, or how far its functions shall be  
rigidly prescribed. At the outset, at  
least, it would seem that both the gen-  
eral powers and the degree of discretion  
should be carefully restricted. Instead  
of pressing Federal regulations as far  
as possible, the real desideratum in leg-  
islation affecting the country's business  
should be to preserve, to the greatest  
extent consistent with the public wel-  
fare, the element of self-regulation. The  
effort should be to lay down principles  
of conduct sufficiently specific to impose  
desired restraint, at the same time leav-  
ing a wide field for individual achieve-  
ment.

## Organizations Constituting The Chamber of Commerce of the United States

Corrected to December 16, 1912

(The Chamber was called into existence April 23, 1912. Great care was exercised in preliminaries. The official force was not fully organized until August, 1912. Since that date, following the usual summer lull, the growth of the Chamber has been impressive. New members are coming in daily.)

- ALABAMA.**  
Mobile—Chamber of Commerce and  
Business League.
- ARIZONA.**  
Phoenix—Board of Trade.
- ARKANSAS.**  
Pine Bluff—Chamber of Commerce.
- CALIFORNIA.**  
Sacramento—Chamber of Commerce.  
San Francisco—Chamber of Commerce.
- COLORADO.**  
Denver—Chamber of Commerce.
- CONNECTICUT.**  
Bridgeport—Board of Trade.  
Derby—State Business Men's Association.  
Greenwich—Board of Trade.  
New Haven—Chamber of Commerce.
- DELAWARE.**  
Wilmington—Board of Trade.
- DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.**  
Washington—Board of Trade.
- GEORGIA.**  
Athens—Chamber of Commerce.  
Atlanta—Chamber of Commerce.  
Savannah—Board of Trade.
- HAWAII.**  
Honolulu—Chamber of Commerce.
- ILLINOIS.**  
Alton—Board of Trade.  
Bloomington—Commercial Club.  
(Pending).  
Chicago—American Association of  
Refrigeration.  
Chicago—American Envelope Manu-  
facturers' Association.  
Chicago—Association of Commerce.  
Chicago—Board of Trade.  
Chicago—Central Supply Association.  
Chicago—Garment Manufacturers' As-  
sociation.  
Chicago—Illinois Commercial Federa-  
tion.  
Chicago—National Manufacturers As-  
sociation.  
Chicago—Industrial Club.  
Chicago—Millinery Jobbers' Associa-  
tion.  
Chicago—National Association of  
Box Manufacturers.  
Chicago—National Association of Ice  
Cream Manufacturers.  
Chicago—National Association of Tan-  
ners.  
Chicago—National Founders' Associa-  
tion.  
Chicago—National Hardware Lumber  
Association.  
Chicago—National Implement and  
Vehicle Association.  
Chicago—National Shoe Wholesalers'  
Association.  
Chicago—National Slack Coopers'  
Manufacturers' Association.  
Chicago—Tight Barrel Stave Manu-  
facturers' Association.  
Decatur—Chamber of Commerce.  
(Pending).  
Dixon—Citizens' Association.  
East St. Louis—Commercial Club.  
(Pending).  
Evanston—Commercial Association.  
Freeport—Citizens' Commercial Associa-  
tion.  
Kankakee—Commercial Association.  
Monmouth—Commercial Club. (Pend-  
ing).  
Peoria—Association of Commerce.  
Quincy—Chamber of Commerce.  
Rockford—Chamber of Commerce.
- INDIANA.**  
Fort Wayne—Commercial Club.  
Hammond—Chamber of Commerce.  
Indianapolis—Board of Trade.  
Indianapolis—Commercial Club.  
Indianapolis—National Brick Manu-  
facturers' Association.  
Indiana Harbor—Commercial Club.  
Logansport—Chamber of Commerce.  
New Albany—Chamber of Commerce.  
Richmond—Commercial Club.
- IOWA.**  
Cedar Rapids—Commercial Club.  
Clinton—Commercial Club.  
Council Bluffs—Commercial Club.  
Davenport—Greater Davenport Com-  
mittee, Inc.  
Des Moines—Greater Des Moines Com-  
mittee.  
Marshalltown—Marshalltown Club.  
Oskaloosa—Commercial Club.  
Sioux City—Commercial Club.
- KANSAS.**  
Abilene—National Federation of Retail  
Implement and Vehicle Dealers' Associa-  
tion.  
Arkansas City—Commercial Club.  
Fort Scott—Industrial Association.  
Kansas City—Mercantile Club.  
Lawrence—Commercial Club.  
Leavenworth—Commercial Club.
- KENTUCKY.**  
Hopkinsville—Business Men's Associa-  
tion.
- LOUISIANA.**  
New Orleans—Board of Trade.  
New Orleans—Progressive Union.
- MAINE.**  
Bangor—Maine State Board of Trade.
- MARYLAND.**  
Annapolis—Chamber of Commerce.  
Baltimore—Board of Trade. (Pend-  
ing).  
Baltimore—Chamber of Commerce.  
Baltimore—Flavoring Extract Manu-  
facturing Association of the United States.  
Baltimore—Greater Baltimore Com-  
mittee.  
Baltimore—Merchants' and Manu-  
facturers' Association.  
Frederick—Board of Trade.
- MASSACHUSETTS.**  
Boston—Chamber of Commerce.  
Boston—Massachusetts State Board of  
Trade.  
Boston—New England Shoe and Leath-  
ers Association.  
Everett—Board of Trade.  
Haverhill—Board of Trade.  
New Bedford—Board of Trade.  
Salem—Board of Trade.  
Springfield—Board of Trade.  
Worcester—Board of Trade.
- MICHIGAN.**  
Alpena—Chamber of Commerce.  
Bay City—Board of Commerce.  
Detroit—Board of Commerce.  
Flint—Board of Commerce.  
Grand Rapids—Association of Com-  
merce.  
Kalamazoo—Commercial Club.  
Jackson—Chamber of Commerce.  
Saginaw—Board of Trade.  
Saginaw—Wholesalers and Manu-  
facturers' Association.
- MINNESOTA.**  
Duluth—Board of Trade.  
Minneapolis—Chamber of Commerce.  
Minneapolis—Civic and Commerce As-  
sociation.  
St. Paul—Association of Commerce.  
Winona—Association of Commerce,  
Inc. (Pending).
- MISSISSIPPI.**  
Greenwood—Business League.
- MISSOURI.**  
Carthage—Business Men's League.  
Joplin—Commercial Club.  
Kansas City—Commercial Club.  
Kansas City—Southwestern Interstate  
Coal Operators' Association.  
St. Joseph—Commerce Club.  
St. Louis—Business Men's League.  
St. Louis—Manufacturers' and Export-  
ers' Association.  
St. Louis—Merchants' Exchange.  
St. Louis—National Confectioners' As-  
sociation of the United States.  
St. Louis—North St. Louis Business  
Men's Association.  
Springfield—Jobbers & Manufacturers'  
Association.  
Springfield—Young Men's Business Club.
- MONTANA.**  
Billings—Chamber of Commerce.
- NEBRASKA.**  
Fremont—Commercial Club.  
Lincoln—Commercial Club.  
Omaha—Commercial Club.
- NEVADA.**  
Reno—Commercial Club.
- NEW HAMPSHIRE.**  
Berlin—Board of Trade.
- NEW JERSEY.**  
Rahway—Board of Trade.
- NEW YORK.**  
Brooklyn—Manufacturers' Association  
of New York.  
Buffalo—Chamber of Commerce.  
Dunkirk—Board of Trade.  
Kingston—Chamber of Commerce.  
New Brighton—Staten Island Chamber  
of Commerce.  
New York—American Specialty Manu-  
facturers' Association. (Pending).  
New York City—American Association  
of Public Accountants.  
New York City—American Bankers' As-  
sociation.  
New York City—American Exporters'  
and Importers' Association.  
New York City—American Paper &  
Pulp Association.  
New York City—Bridge Builders' So-  
ciety.  
New York City—Cotton Exchange.  
New York City—Eastern Millinery As-  
sociation, Inc.  
New York City—Merchants' Associa-  
tion.  
New York City—National Association  
of Automobile Manufacturers, Inc.  
New York City—National Association of  
Clothing.  
New York City—National Association  
of Glue and Gelatin Manufacturers.  
New York City—National Association  
of Manufacturers of the United States.  
New York City—National Association of  
Stationers and Manufacturers of the United  
States.  
New York City—National Cotton Garment  
Manufacturers' Association.  
New York City—National Retail Dry Goods  
Association.  
New York City—National Wholesale Dry  
Goods Association.  
New York City—National Wholesale Grocers'  
Association of the United States.  
New York City—National Wholesale Lumber  
Dealers' Association.  
New York—Produce Exchange.  
New York—Railway Business Associa-  
tion.  
New York—Silk Association of America.  
New York—Stationers' Board of Trade.  
New York—United States Brewers' As-  
sociation.  
Niagara Falls—Board of Trade.  
North Tonawanda—Board of Trade.  
Oswego—Chamber of Commerce.  
Plattsburgh—Chamber of Commerce.  
Poughkeepsie—Chamber of Commerce.  
Rochester—Chamber of Commerce.  
Rochester—National Association of  
Employing Lithographers.  
Rochester—National Boot and Shoe  
Manufacturers' Association of the United  
States.  
Utica—Knit Goods Manufacturers'  
Association.
- NORTH CAROLINA.**  
Washington—Chamber of Commerce.  
Wilmington—Chamber of Commerce.
- NORTH DAKOTA.**  
Grand Forks—Commercial Club.
- OHIO.**  
Akron—Chamber of Commerce.  
Columbus—Chamber of Commerce.  
(Pending).  
Cincinnati—Business Men's Club Com-  
pany.  
Cincinnati—Chamber of Commerce and  
Merchants' Exchange.  
Cleveland—Chamber of Commerce.  
Cleveland—National Cloak, Suit, and  
Skirt Manufacturers' Association.
- CLEVELAND—National Machine Tool  
Builders' Association.  
Cleveland—National Petroleum Associa-  
tion.  
Dayton—Chamber of Commerce.  
Elyria—Chamber of Commerce.  
(Pending).  
East Liverpool—United States Potters'  
Association.  
Hamilton—Chamber of Commerce.  
(Pending).  
Lima—Progressive Association Com-  
pany.  
Mansfield—Chamber of Commerce.  
Newark—Board of Trade.  
Portsmouth—Board of Trade.  
Steubenville—Chamber of Commerce.  
(Pending).  
Youngstown—Chamber of Commerce.**
- OREGON.**  
Marshfield—Chamber of Commerce,  
Central.  
Portland—Chamber of Commerce.
- PENNSYLVANIA.**  
Allentown—Chamber of Commerce.  
Beaver Falls—Manufacturers' Associa-  
tion of Beaver County.  
Beaver Falls—Tile Manufacturers'  
Credit Association.  
Easton—Board of Trade.  
McKeesport—Chamber of Commerce.  
Philadelphia—Chamber of Commerce.  
Philadelphia—National Association of  
Hosiery and Underwear Manufacturers.  
Philadelphia—Paint Manufacturers' As-  
sociation of United States.  
Pittsburg—American Warehousemen's  
Association.  
Pittsburg—Chamber of Commerce.  
Pittsburg—National Pipe and Supplies  
Association.  
Pittsburg—Oakland Board of Trade.  
Wilkesbarre—Chamber of Commerce.  
York—Chamber of Commerce.  
York—Manufacturers' Association.
- PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.**  
Manila—Merchants' Association, Inc.
- PORTO RICO.**  
San Juan—Porto Rico Association.
- RHODE ISLAND.**  
Providence—Board of Trade.
- TENNESSEE.**  
Chattanooga—Chamber of Commerce.  
Chattanooga—Manufacturers' Associa-  
tion.
- TEXAS.**  
Dallas—Chamber of Commerce.  
Texarkana—Board of Trade.
- VIRGINIA.**  
Alexandria—Chamber of Commerce.  
Lynchburg—Chamber of Commerce.  
Norfolk—North Carolina Pine Associa-  
tion.  
Petersburg—Chamber of Commerce.  
Richmond—Southern Hardware Job-  
bers' Association.
- WASHINGTON.**  
Seattle—New Seattle Chamber of  
Commerce.  
Tacoma—Commercial Club and Cham-  
ber of Commerce.  
Tacoma—West Coast Lumber Manu-  
facturers' Association.
- WEST VIRGINIA.**  
Huntington—Chamber of Commerce.
- WISCONSIN.**  
Fond du Lac—Business Men's Asso-  
ciation.  
Green Bay—Commercial Club.  
Milwaukee—American Feed Manu-  
facturers' Association. (Pending).  
Milwaukee—Chamber of Commerce.  
Milwaukee—Merchants and Manu-  
facturers' Association.  
Milwaukee—Wisconsin Manufactur-  
ers' Association.  
Oshkosh—Chamber of Commerce.  
Waukesha—Business Men's Club.
- TURKEY.**  
Constantinople—American Chamber  
of Commerce for the Levant.



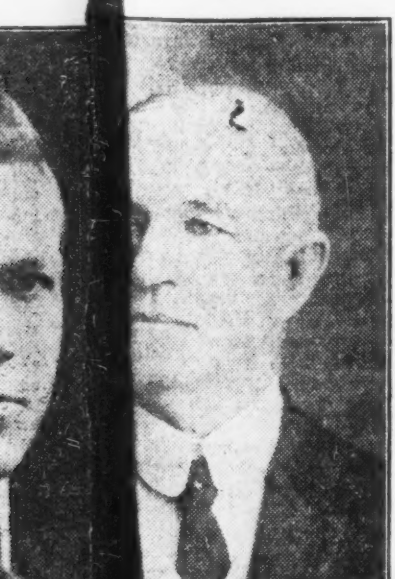
S. CHRISTY MEAD,  
Councillor  
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ciation of New York.



CRAWFORD H. ELLIS,  
Councillor  
Representing the New Orleans  
Board of Trade.



W. D. SIMMONS,  
Councillor  
Representing the Business Men's  
League of St. Louis, Mo.



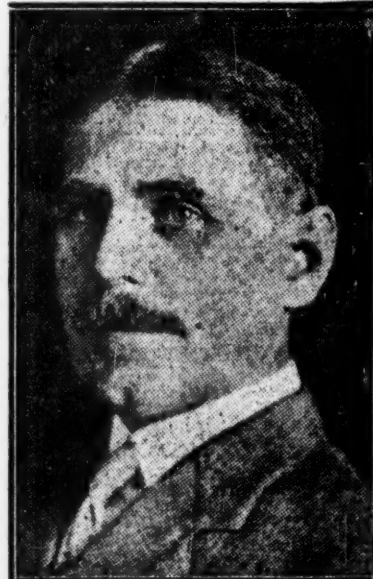
MORTIMER DAVIS,  
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Councillor  
Representing Saginaw Wholesalers  
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E. H. SHOLAR,  
Councillor  
Representing the Chattanooga Manu-  
facturers' Association.



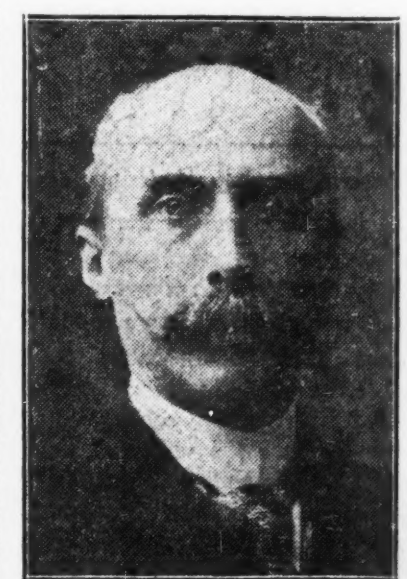
WILLIAM HOLMES STEVENSON,  
Councillor  
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merce of Pittsburg, Pa.



EDMOND C. GILTNER,  
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ber of Commerce.



CAPT. D. JOHN MARKEY,  
Councillor  
Representing the Board of Trade,  
Frederick, Md.



WM. HARRIS DOUGLAS,  
Councillor  
Representing the New York Produce  
Exchange.



ments, in anticipation of growth. With us the typical commercial city is located either directly on the seaboard or some natural inland waterway. Europe has built her seaports inland and connected them with the sea by dredging and excavating rivers. We based our appeal for the development of our inland waterways only on the necessity of effecting a better freight service through the interior of our country, the one thing which is beyond question, and even then we were unmis- takable. But this is only the lesser of the two considerations involved. Now we are rapidly assuming a more im- portant place in the larger field of



(By A. H. Baldwin, Chief of the Bureau.)

**Maj. Carson's Bulletin.**

An important bulletin, by the late Maj. John M. Carson, on "Packing and Shipping of Cotton," was also recently issued. This monograph invites attention to the faulty methods of handling this great staple, which causes an economic loss of at least \$50,000,000 a

and work for the National rivers and Harbors Congress. He has just recently assigned his connection with the Panama-California Exposition to take up the work of informing the nation regarding the floods of the Mississippi Valley and their prevention. The Interstate Levee Association, of which Mr. O. N. Killough is president, embraces all of that area known as the alluvial region of the Mississippi. It is about 1,000 miles in length

Y. C. C. McHard, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, contained but one recommendation, that the act shall be amended so as to give shippers three years from the time of the cause of action in which to present claims for the recovery of damages to the commission. The recommendation was adopted. James E. Sague, of the New York second district commission, presented the report of the Committee on Rails and

There is, in fact, no very accurate map of the United States as a whole, although the Geological Survey publishes a base about 7 feet in width and the General Land Office has issued a similar map. Most of the commercial maps, though they look upon, are full of gross errors.

The world's international commerce will establish a new high record in 1912, present indications being that the total will aggregate \$35,000,000,000, against \$31,000,000,000 in 1910, \$20,000,000,000 in 1900, and \$17,500,000,000 in 1890, having thus doubled in twenty-two years. These figures are the result of a compilation from the official publications of the principal countries.

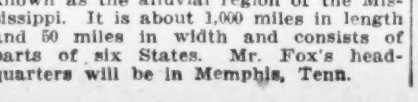
practice originated in the manufacturing district of Naples, where the shoe industry is extensively carried on with American machinery."

errors. For a superficial study

will aggregate \$35,000,000,000, again \$20,000,000,000 in 1910, \$17,500,000,000 in 1890, having thus in twenty-two years. These figures are the result of a compilation from

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1991



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# THE NATION'S BUSINESS

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## Co-operative Rural Credit; Its Significance Explained

In the past twelve months the papers of the United States have used the words, "co-operative rural credit" very extensively.

The subject is one of extreme novelty in the public mind, and, by reason of the foreign terms used in any attempted description of co-operative rural credits, there has been much confusion of thought relative to the subject.

Because the subject is so new, few of those who write about it have come to the use of definite terms. For instance, in a recent statement descriptive of foreign methods, the terms "co-operative credit," "land credit," "mutual banks," "rural banks," "land mortgage banks," together with the foreign words "Raiffeisen," "Schulze-Delitzsch," "Landschaften," "Ritterschaften," are largely used interchangeably and therefore fail to leave a clear impression of what is intended.

Yet the whole subject of co-operative rural credit can be reduced to exceedingly simple terms and when so reduced, its important relation to the future of the United States is at once seen.

### CITY AND COUNTRY CONTRASTED.

Wealth consists of possessions, not necessarily money. Money is only a symbol of wealth. The power of money has in recent centuries been greatly enhanced by the invention of credit, which is another term for confidence in mutual transactions.

The benefits of credit have been confined very generally to residents of cities, and the result has been that transactions in terms of money are more active in the city than in the country. For instance, a merchant can, on his character and assets, secure short-time loans. With these he discounts bills, uses his money in all the varied transactions of his business and then casts it back into the bank at the expiration of the short term. That money being borrowed for a short time and used rapidly, is engaged profitably and yet has borne only the burden of interest involved in a short-time transaction.

Contrast with this the conditions that have existed and do exist in the country, and it will be seen that a mortgage involving the tying up of a man's land for a period of years and placing in his hands the total amount of the mortgage at the beginning of the transaction puts him at a great disadvantage compared with the merchant, for, burdened with the total amount loaned, it is highly probable that he cannot engage more than a portion of his money in profitable enterprise and therefore the active portion has always to bear the burden of interest on the whole mortgage and the burden of accumulating the amounts where-with to repay.

Furthermore, land in the United States is outlaid by all the national banks through the regulations controlling them. Following in the steps of the national banks, State banks show very little favor toward land transactions. There is nothing particularly sinister in this out-laying of land, because the idea lying back of it is that all paper held by banks must, in preparation for emergency, be easily transformable into money. This is not possible in relation to long-time mortgages.

A \$10,000,000,000 ASSET.

The value of agricultural land in the United States is probably more than forty billion dollars. If now, some device or method can be worked out whereby this tremendous and basic asset becomes available for the establishment of credit and for the activities of short-time loans and all other transactions of banking, it will be seen immediately how tremendous and how reassuring a stimulus will come to the business life of America.

The agitation of the subject of co-operative rural credit represents the endeavor of earnest thinkers to bring about so important a change. Research on the subject leads immediately to Europe, where, in the time of Frederick the Great, a method was worked out in Germany for trading in land bonds in the money markets and thus giving to the land owners the means wherewith to carry on co-operative banking transactions. Then about the middle of the last century methods were worked out for giving to the peasant farmer, of character, who need not necessarily own any land, the means whereby in his own small transactions he could have the full advantage of banking facilities through co-operation with neighboring peasant farmers of character.

The details of the system are not important except when the subject is to be discussed technically. The results obtained, however, are vastly important, for if the peasant farmers of Germany alone could in one year finance transactions representing over a billion dollars and the popular banks of the cities could in one year carry on transactions greater in amount than three billion dollars, then it is probable that the peculiar genius of America can lead to still greater things.

### MORE THAN MONEY INVOLVED.

There is beneath the agitation of this whole subject something vastly more important than mere money transactions. A right solution of the rural financial problems of America will tend to stop the political and economic dangers arising from the drift of the people to cities. It means permanent preservation of the conservative element, who having a stake in actual land possessions give balance and judgment to the thought of the nation.

Part of the rush to the cities is due to the fact that real money is, in the case of vast numbers of small farmers, seldom handled. Another impulse comes from the disappointment of seeing the earnest labor of a season going practically for naught, owing to lack of co-operation in marketing methods.

The establishment of co-operative rural banks means more than credit. It means the ability to co-operatively purchase and to co-operatively sell, and thus will bring to the rural life of America an element of independence, or assurance, and of hope that has been lacking during the period of immense material progress of the cities during the fifty years just ended.

### SHOULD BE STUDIED ABROAD.

There is an element of danger in the discussion of the subject that has gone forward during the year. It is that various unrelated efforts to solve the problems of rural finance will be made throughout the States,

some of them based upon a complete misunderstanding of the object sought. At the conference on co-operative rural credits, held in Nashville last April, under the auspices of the Southern Commercial Congress, delegates from twenty-seven States were unanimous in proposing the formation of an American commission made up of two representative men from each State of the Union to go abroad in 1913 to study European methods. The idea of having representatives from each State was that thereby the interest of the rural elements of each State would be fastened upon the transactions of the entire commission and thus in a short time the agricultural body of America become aroused to the significance of the effort. Furthermore, two trusted men from each State would during the entire trip be sifting their experiences and working out methods of adaptation to their own State; for the development of "co-operative rural credit" in the United States must be along the lines of adaptation—the problems of a cotton grower are quite distinct from those of a market gardener; the problems of an irrigation farmer are quite distinct from those of a sugar planter.

The test to be applied to any project for land credit in the United States is conveyed in one question, "Is it co-operative?" If it is not co-operative, then it is not kin to the methods that have so benefited Europe.

### THE CHAMBER AND CONGRESS.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, in announcing its purpose of keeping the commercial organizations affiliated with it informed as to the introduction and progress of bills in Congress affecting business interests, utterly disclaims the intention which some newspapers have imputed to it of becoming a critic of Congress, or in any other way adopting a hostile attitude toward it.

On the contrary, one of the main purposes for which the chamber was formed is to co-operate with and aid the Congress of the United States to secure reliable information as to the commercial needs of the country as a whole, as expressed in an authoritative way by the chamber of commerce and trade organizations acting in concert and after due deliberation.

The national chamber is not a lobbying institution and will be conducted in the strictest spirit of non-partisanship. It has no ends to serve beyond the development of commerce, and the expression of business opinion upon national matters, which it gathers through referendum to the commercial organizations, is for the information of Congress as much as for the information of the Executive.

### SECRETARIES SHOULD READ.

Many secretaries know Herbert N. Davison, of Worcester, Mass., an important member of the American Association of Commercial Executives. The letter that follows was written in October to all commercial organizations in New England. It makes good reading:

On December 7, 1912, His Excellency, the President, in a message to the Congress declared: "Some central organization, in touch with associations and chambers of commerce throughout the country, and able to keep purely American interests in closer touch with different phases of commercial affairs, would, I believe, be of great value."

Pursuant to this suggestion some 700 persons representing over 300 commercial organizations met at the Capital of the Nation on April 23 last, and organized the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America.

This body, in seven months, has grown to be the most influential trade organization this country has ever seen.

Three of its directors are New England men, and I believe, as I believe that I am alive, that there is no section of the United States that needs so urgently to affiliate with this great business body at once as does New England.

We are, as you know, in the midst in this country, of a great economic upheaval. What the outcome of the election this fall will be no man at this writing can accurately foretell, but one thing is certain, whoever is elected President, tariff changes are impending that will seriously affect New England—affect her agriculturally somewhat—affect her industrially to a marked degree.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America is, one might say, a quasi-governmental organization, and it is going to prove eventually the business clearing house of the United States. The very fact that it has a Federal charter gives it a unique standing among business bodies. It will not only be able to secure information from the general government, never obtainable before by any of us, but it will be able to talk to Congress for the business men in a way that that body has never, up to this time, been addressed by anybody.

Can we afford here in New England to neglect this opportunity to exploit our business interests at Washington? Can we afford to neglect this chance to affiliate with the most important business organizations in America?

I am inclosing you herewith the copy of the magnificent address delivered by the brilliant president of the Chamber, Harry A. Wheeler, before the Union League Club of Chicago, and I bespeak for it your most careful reading, containing as it does, his masterly presentation of the possibilities open to the constituent bodies included in this new national movement.

I am also sending you an application blank and the tentative plan of organization of the National Chamber.

I want you to read every word of this material, and then urge upon your directors the advisability of immediately identifying yourself with this great body, particularly because the next annual meeting is to be held in Washington, commencing Tuesday, January 21, 1913, and I am extremely anxious that New England shall be largely represented at this meeting. It is imperative that she should be.

You will find that the very reasonable dues charged by the Chamber are enumerated on the back of the application blank, and I want you to know that not the least of the privileges obtained from your very small expenditures for dues will be the receipt of a copy, regularly, of The Nation's Business, the organ of the National Chamber—a publication interesting, informing, invaluable to even the smallest body.

As president of the New England Association of Commercial Executives I endorse the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America to the highest degree. I was instrumental in its formation. I have assisted in shaping its policies and I can assure you and you can assure your members that if there is such a thing as an absolute democracy in this country where the smallest organization gets a square deal alongside the biggest it is the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. Our delegates literally meet upon the level and part upon the square.

Send the application of your organization to D. A. Skinner, assistant secretary, Riggs Building, Washington, D. C., and if there is any further information I can give you don't hesitate to call on me.

Yours for the cause,

(Signed) HERBERT N. DAVISON,  
President New England Association Commercial Executives.

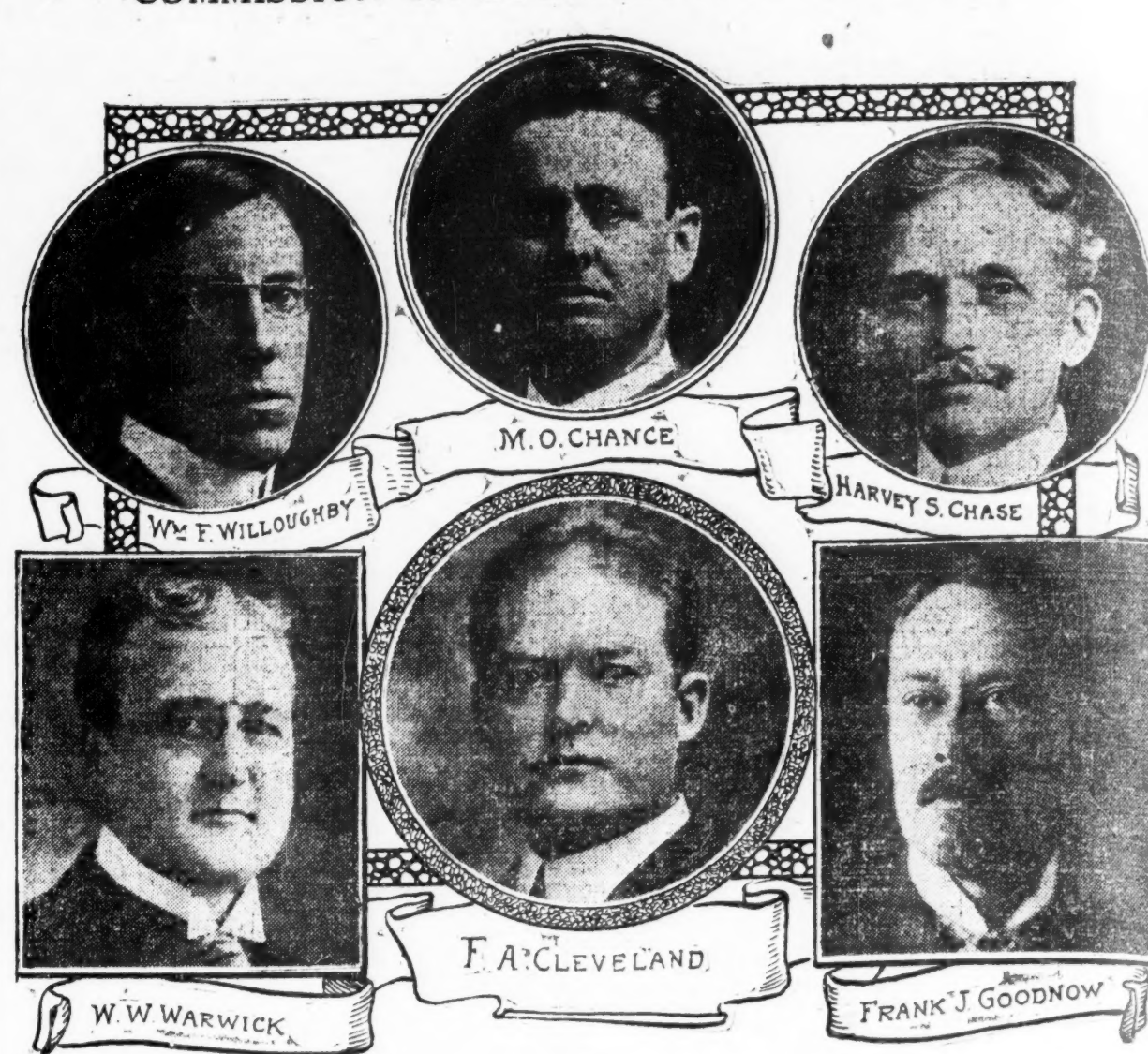
### THE PROFESSION OF SECRETARY.

In recent years the world of business and statesmanship has come to recognize the importance of the office of secretary. Several secretaries to the various Presidents have developed into great leaders of affairs, and in all directions one may see the rapidly growing importance of the secretarial profession. The modern secretary is a business man, an organizer, a diplomat, a strategist, a mixer, and an all-around man of versatile ability. The organization that succeeds best is the one which obtains the best available ability for its executive office and backs up the work of its secretary and pays him a salary somewhere near what he would earn if he applied the same work and ability to a private occupation.

It is a fatal blunder to put a weak or nominal secretary in an important office and then expect results. The secretary of a commercial organization should not be treated as a menial or an office boy whose opinion is not asked, but who may be blamed if anything goes wrong. The associations which are doing effective work are those that dignify the office of secretary and whose members are not above taking his advice and giving him their united support. The secretary, if he is worthy of his office, should be trusted. He has fully as much at stake as any member, and if given a free hand can carry the work of his organization to success.

In these modern days the great man of affairs must have a good secretary, and the trade association that tries to engage an executive and then do the work itself is on the wrong track.—Shoe and Leather Weekly.

## COMMISSION ON ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY.



The personnel of the Commission is as follows: Chairman, Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland, former director of the Bureau of Municipal Research of New York City; William F. Willoughby, at one time secretary of Porto Rico, and president of the Executive Council of Porto Rico, later Assistant Director of the Census, and who now occupies the chair held by President-elect Wilson, as professor of political economy and government at Princeton University; Walter W. Warwick, who has been associated with the administration of affairs of the Canal Zone as deputy auditor of the Canal Zone; Frank Commission, examiner of accounts of Isthmian Canal Commission, auditor of the accounts of the Canal Zone; Frank J. Goodnow, professor of law of Columbia University, New York since 1882, and delegate of the United States to the first Congress of Administrative Science at Brussels, 1910; Harvey S. Chase, who has been expert in regulation of finance for the State of Ohio and the city of Boston, and is at present president of the Massachusetts Society of Public Accountants, and trustee and member of executive committee of American Association of Public Accountants, and Merritt O. Chance, the secretary of the Commission, auditor for the Post-office Department.

### List of the More Important Reports.

Made by the Commission on Economy and Efficiency.

1. Outline of Organization of the Government of the United States.
2. Report on Methods of Appointment of Officers and Employees.
3. Consolidation of the Lighthouse and Life-saving Work.
4. Report Recommending the Transfer of the Work of the Revenue Cutter Service from the Treasury to Commerce and Labor.
5. Report Recommending that the Offices of the Six Auditors of the Treasury be Consolidated into One Office under One Auditor.
6. Report Recommending the Abolition of the Returns Office in the Interior Department, where copies of all contracts of the War, Navy, and Interior Departments are filed for public inspection.
7. Report on expenses of travel of officers and employees.
8. Report concerning the best methods of handling and filing correspondence and the use of labor-saving devices in connection with correspondence.
9. Report on distribution of government publications from the Printing Office instead of from the departments.
10. The advantages to be gained in the use of window envelopes in the government service.
11. Economy in the use of the photographic process for copying documents, maps, drawings, etc.
12. Report on the retirement of superannuated employees.
13. Report on the need for a National Budget.
14. Numerous reports on the accounting and reporting methods of the government, with recommendations regarding the installation of accounting systems to produce promptly and accurately the information needed for current use and for making regular and special financial reports.
15. Report on the establishment of an independent health service.
16. Report with recommendations concerning the administration of the United States Patent Office.

The group shown above is of the men who brought together, under great difficulties, the data needed for evolving the plans for a national budget. Their presentation of this aspect of governmental economy and efficiency was condensed in the last issue of The Nation's Business, and has since been sent out as a referendum to the constituent members of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. The form of the referendum was as well adapted to secure a proper expression of opinion as the report of the Commission on Economy and Efficiency to attract attention to the subject as a whole.

The referendum made a pamphlet of fifteen pages. The impartial character of the referendum is indicated by the table of contents printed below.

1. Argument in Favor of Plan for a National Budget.
2. Argument Against Plan for a National Budget.
3. Accompanying Documents: Exhibit A—"The Budget as a Means of Locating Responsibility for Waste and Inefficiency," by Frederick A. Cleveland, Chairman of the Commission on Economy and Efficiency.
4. Exhibit B—Endorsement of Plan for a National Budget, by Leading Firms of Public Accountants.
5. Exhibit C—Extract from Speech of Congressman John J. Fitzgerald of New York, Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, in Opposition to the Submission of a Budget.
6. Exhibit D—Applicability of Budget Plan to American System of Government, Reprinted from Hearings Before Subcommittee of House Committee on Appropriations.
7. Exhibit E—Copy of Letter sent by the President to the Secretary of the Treasury Relative to the Submission of a Budget to Congress, September 19, 1912.

Both sides of the question were adequately represented.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States will take no official attitude toward the subject of a national budget until after the vote has been received in response to the referendum blanks sent out.

### THE ADAPTABILITY OF THE EUROPEAN CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SYSTEMS TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE AMERICAN FARMER.

Quotations from President Taft's Letter to the Governors, and from Ambassador Myron T. Herrick's Report.

Quotations from the President.

1) A study of the recommendations of Ambassador Herrick convinces me of the adaptability to American conditions of the co-operative credit plan along the lines of the Landschaften societies of Germany, provided that uniform State legislation can be secured to govern their organization and operation.

2) The need for the establishment of an adequate financial system as adapted to the farmers of this country is now quite generally recognized. The governmental initiative, taken by the Department of State under instructions issued by my direction to the diplomatic officers in Europe on March 15 last, has been effectively supplemented by the American Bankers Association, the Southern Commercial Congress, and by many other bodies by whom this question has been agitated, and valuable work has been done in studying and disseminating knowledge of those great instrumentalities which have been created in Europe to extend to their agriculturists credit facilities equal in benefits to those enjoyed by their industrial and commercial organizations.

3) The handicap placed upon the American farmer through the lack of such a system and the loss sustained by the whole citizenship of the nation because of this failure to assist the farmers to the utmost development of our agricultural resources is readily apparent.

4) It will be admitted that the security offered by the farmer in his farm lands is quite as sound as that offered by industrial corporations.

5) Obviously, the advantage enjoyed by the industrial corporation lies in the financial machinery at its command. The farmer lacks this machinery, and, lacking it, he suffers unreasonably. This is not theory. Through all the changing conditions of a century the soundness and practicality of financial machinery based upon the peculiar credit needs of the agricultural community have been proved, and so successful has been its operation that in Germany, in times of financial stress, money has been taken out of the commercial field and placed in the keeping of the farmer in the form of agricultural co-operative banks for safety. Through this machinery the German farmer has received money at rates lower than those current in commercial loans.

6) The advantages to be gained by the adoption of this plan go beyond the direct saving in interest charges to the farmer.

7) All this can be done, and I am convinced that in this country it must be done, by the efforts of the farmer himself.

8) The most essential point to bear in mind is the need for the assumption by the Federal and State government of the responsibility for economically and honestly conducted institutions.

9) In Europe the agricultural banks and credit facilities were created before agricultural or even general education was attempted. The United States began at the opposite end; but the results would have been far greater if financial education had gone hand in hand with this work. It would have led to the study and introduction of the rural banking methods of Europe generations ago.

10) Co-operative Credit Associations: In France and other countries they hold a record in having been successful. They do one-third of the banking business of Italy; while the combined amount of their operations is equal to many equals that of the commercial banks. They keep millions of dollars of petty sums in circulation which for them would be idle and loaned out, and so successful has been its operation that in Germany, in times of financial stress, money has been taken out of the commercial field and placed in the keeping of the farmer in the form of agricultural co-operative banks for safety. Through this machinery the German farmer has received money at rates lower than those current in commercial loans.

11) There were nearly 6,000 banks in Austria. The membership was over 725,666 and the loans ran over \$85,500,000. In Italy 690 banks that furnished loans had a working capital of over \$170,000,000. In Germany there is one bank for every 1,500 of the population, and the total business done was over \$435,000,000.

12) It is remarkable that the farmers of the United States have been slow to adopt this system of banking.

13) The co-operative credit associations have been of incalculable value to agriculture in Europe. There is no question on this point, and the investigation so far conducted shows quite conclusively that such societies could be of great benefit to farmers in many parts of the United States.

14) An equitable portion of the millions of dollars pouring into the postal savings banks might be loaned to or deposited with them, thus putting these funds to safe and productive use.

15) The Landschaften Idea: It has been tested and proved by over 120 years of success.

16) German Mortgage Banks: The Imperial Government watches over them all. The supervision is carried out by royal commissioners and extends to the minutest detail. These inspecting officials have the right to verify the securities and cash on hand, and demand information regarding every separate transaction. They may also send a representative to general meetings of stockholders and to sittings of boards of directors and take all measures that may seem fit to enforce the proper conduct of business.

17) The 12,000,000 farmers of the United States are adding over \$2,100,000,000 to the national wealth each year. They are doing this on a borrowed capital of \$6,000,000,000, on which \$10,000,000 of interest is paid. Counting on commissions and renewal charges the rate is averaged at 85 per cent. Counting on a thoroughly organized system of mutual credit facilities they would not only save this difference of 200 or 250 millions of dollars to themselves individually, but in course of time the entire debt would be transferred to the extraneous source, the interest paid to them, an economic waste stopped, and the whole sum restored to agriculture. The assertion is neither fanciful nor extravagant.

18) Credit is indispensable to every business. It is the means whereby one dollar is made to do the work of fifty dollars.

19) The rural co-operative credit societies have made the farmers not only their own bankers, but by adding co-operation in their operations, have also enabled them to become their own merchants, buying supplies at wholesale and selling their produce at retail in the markets of the United States.

20) The Landschaften and other mortgage banks have evolved the true theories of the mortgage-loan—never tried in America—and have made self as readily as government bonds, convertible, and cosmopolitan in Europe they are the lifeblood of the nation.

21) The 235,000,000 of foodstuffs exported last year barely equalled 75 per cent of the annual interest charges on the debts the farmers owe.

22) The trouble is the lack of capital and the remedy lies in financing the farmer and the landowner. This is the indisputable conclusion logically reached from examination into the actual conditions and from comparisons furnished by recent European history. The solution of the problem concerns the general welfare as much as does the currency and monetary reform.

23) The place of issue unless they are known to have the same underlying value and give the same rights to the holder, regardless of whether they are secured by mortgages in Texas, Massachusetts, or in any other State.

24) Every effort should be made to secure the uniformity so much to be desired in State laws, and to give a proper direction to any Federal legislation which should be proposed.

### REASONS THAT WILL CONVINCE

I believe that commercial organizations should become members of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, because it (1) affords a means for them to give expression to their carefully considered thought upon questions affecting commercial welfare, and also to exert a determining influence in securing right action either congressional or governmental, as may be, upon such questions; (2) makes co-operation possible in advancing measures that will promote the commerce of the country both domestic and foreign; (3) will assist the organizations in establishing and maintaining high commercial standards, and in correcting usages not consistent with such standards; (4) to carry influence the National Chamber must be made representative by having in its constituent membership the commercial organizations of the entire country.

JOHN P. TRUEDELL,  
Director,  
New York City.